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Letters

UDC Freeze: A Nixon-Mitchell Plot?

As I read Steven Weisman's excellent piece in your June issue about the undoing of New York's Urban Development Corporation ["Nelson Rockefeller's Pill: The UDC"], the central blow that knocked out the underpinning was Nixon's freeze of the Section 236 rental housing subsidy program.

This raises an interesting possibility, which I wish Weisman had explored: Nixon turns to his old buddy and counselor, John Mitchell (grand-daddy of the laws that made UDC's kind of bonding possible) one day and says, "John, what can we do to screw Rockefeller?" Mitchell thoughtfully puffs his pipe for a moment, then says, "Freeze 236," knowing fully what impact that will have upon UDC's house of cards, knowing also how many chips Rocky staked on UDC's success.

JOEL SEVERSON
Pierre, South Dakota

Gaylord Nelson

I read with great interest your piece on Gaylord Nelson ["Gaylord Nelson and the Myth of the White Knight," by Walter Shapiro, July/August] and I think it was very well done. . . . It is too bad that Shapiro didn't talk to me about him. . . . I could have shed light on a couple of points. He wrote about Nelson's being slow sometimes—well, that's because of his axiom that you should always put off an unpleasant or serious decision if you don't have to make it today because something might happen that would make it unnecessary to make a decision at all. You'd be surprised how often that works out. When I was his executive secretary I was all for getting things done, like filling a judicial vacancy, and he'd stall, and several times things occurred that showed us that we would have been very embarrassed if we had appointed this guy or that.

He also had a rule for his staff that would have done Nixon a lot of good: Never put anything on paper that you would mind seeing on the front page of the Milwaukee Journal. He did some other things when he was governor of the same kind as the Mayaguez comment, took a lot of criticism, but always emerged stronger than he was. A very good guy.

EDWIN R. BAYLEY
Berkeley, California

Edwin Bayley worked with Gaylord Nelson for several years and is now Dean of the School of Journalism of the University of California.

Sex: None of Our Business?

I really don't know what you are trying to do lately. We only want one thing from *The Washington Monthly*, and that is politics. If we want sex, we can buy *Playboy*. If we want vague, erudite stuff, we can buy the *Saturday Review*. In your March issue, you had that Mary Tyler Moore/Edith Wharton thing ["Taste, Class, and Mary Tyler Moore," by Suzannah Lessard]. I kept reading it, thinking there must be a point; but there was none. Now, in May, you have an asinine sex piece as your lead article ["From Mickey Spillane to Erica Jong," by Larry McMurtry]; with an even more asinine cover! Are you trying to increase newsstand sales at the expense of subscriptions? For that is what you may be doing, and I think you are being very foolish. We need a *Washington Monthly*, but not one that does not know its own identity.

NANCY BEY
Redwood City, California

The editor replies:

This *is* a political magazine. Figuring out why our political system works and doesn't work is our sole mission. But as early as our February 1970 issue we realized that the pursuit of our mission was taking us into surprising waters, that seeking the roots of the cowardice and paranoia that characterized so many government officials took us well beyond the realm of what was usually taught in political science courses. We commissioned the McMurtry and Lessard articles because experience has taught us that attitudes toward sex and social class have just as much to do with government decision-making as the more frequently perceived economic and political pressures. An easy example is our conviction that more wrong decisions about Vietnam can be explained by machoism than by the desire to exploit Asian markets that Marxists emphasize.

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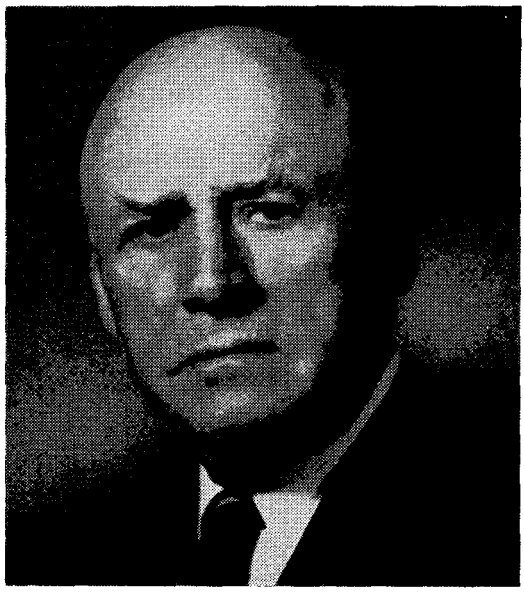

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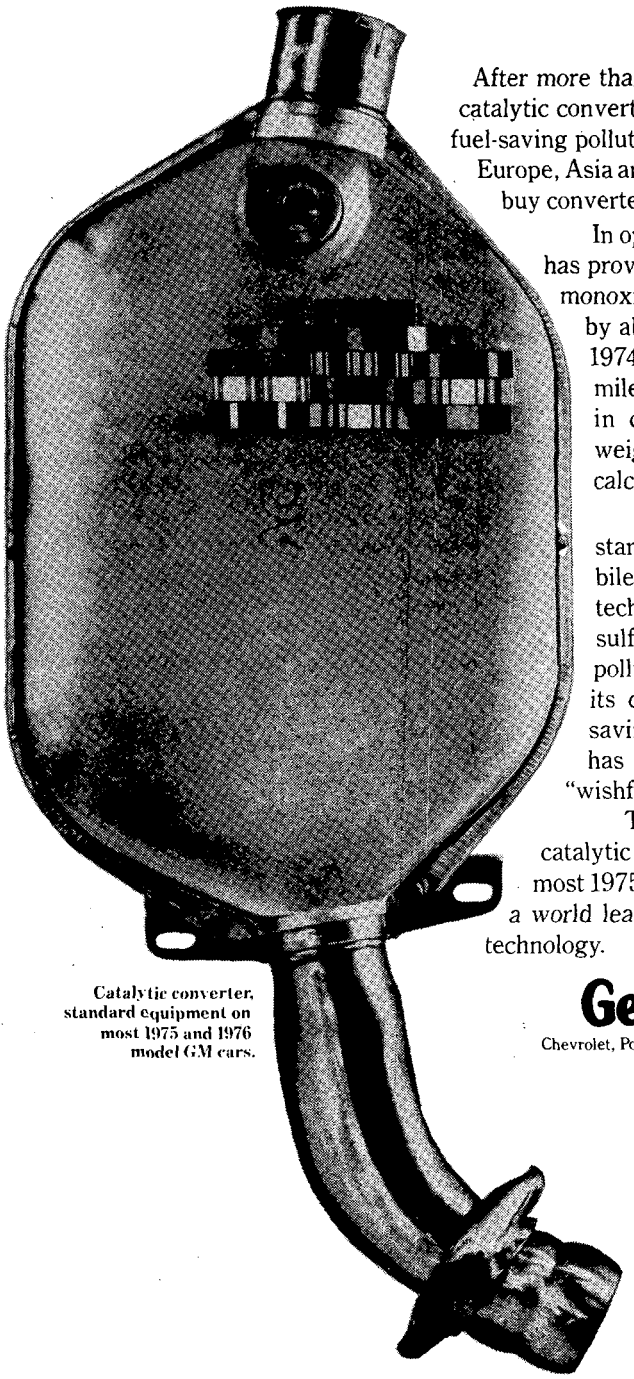

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The Moral Myopia of Magazines

by Michael Kinsley

Like the swallows to Capistrano, the lobbyists had returned to the Cannon House Office Building. The magazine publishers were represented, along with the greeting card manufacturers, the mail-order catalogue firms, and others vitally interested in the topic of the day: postal rates.

The Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, which established the Postal Service as a semi-independent corporation and the Postal Rate Commission to regulate its prices, was supposed to eliminate the traditional deficits and relieve Congress of the duty to set postal rates. But degenerative events had taken their course, so the House Post Office Committee was debating this summer whether to increase the annual subsidy and/or cut in on the Postal Rate Commission's *dance macabre* with the price of postage. And the lobbyists had come to observe.

First-class postage rates have gone from 6 cents to 10 cents since the Postal Service took over, and are headed to 13 cents, because the legendary efficiency of capitalism failed to assert itself the instant the word "corporation" was attached to the postal monopoly and the Postmaster General was given a fat salary in an attempt to delude him into thinking he was running a private company. A couple of goodwill gestures to the postal unions (performed from the rear) have also been expensive.

Second-class rates, for magazines and newspapers, have gone up for these reasons, but also for another. The Postal Reorganization Act instructed the Postal Service (or at least this is how the Postal Rate Commission has interpreted it—magazine publishers and others disagree) to arrange that each class of mail, along with the Postal Service as a whole, ultimately pay its own way. Second-class rates traditionally have been kept very low, with the difference between income and costs being made up by a combination of higher first-class rates and Post Office deficits financed by Congress. In order to fulfill what it

Michael Kinsley is managing editor for this issue of The Washington Monthly. *His book on commercial satellite communication,* Outer Space and Inner Sanctums, *will be published in December by John Wiley.*

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saw as its obligation under the law, the Postal Service has almost doubled second-class rates since 1971, and plans a further increase of 38 per cent in "phases" extending through 1979, at which point second-class mail supposedly would be self-supporting.

The principle that magazines and newspapers should pay their own way through the mails is not one to which most magazines and newspapers subscribe. Nor, it develops (whatever they may have thought they were doing in 1970), do most legislators. Indeed there is a remarkable unanimity across the political spectrum, from Kennedy to Goldwater, and from *The Nation* and *The New Republic* through *Time* and *Reader's Digest* to *Human Events,* about the sanctity of cheap postal rates for magazines. All this enthusiasm is for a subsidy of several hundred million dollars a year which not only, like most government subsidies, distorts the free-market system in a way usually objectionable to conservatives, but has the unliberal effect of transferring money, on the average, from poorer people to more affluent ones. Yet it is also regarded as a subsidy which requires no justification, or for which the justification is obvious.

The Washington Monthly has long believed that the task of achieving major reform is made more difficult because people are unwilling to examine critically their own little free rides. We thought we should take a look at the magazine subsidy before proceeding on our perceived mission of attacking other people's cozy arrangements.

Informed discourse on public issues is what the magazines claim to provide as the public benefit they exchange for the postal subsidy. Yet on the issue of the subsidy itself, there is no informed discourse going on at all. The very *word* "subsidy" is considered off-limits, which makes rational debate difficult.

The magazines complain bitterly about being at the mercy of an inefficient post office bureaucracy and especially about the extravagant union settlements. But their behavior is essentially the same as that of the unions. All the parties with a major stake in mail service know that it is collapsing. Yet they concentrate their efforts on protecting their own little piece of the action. The unions protected by their no-layoff clauses and the magazines by their subsidy have no more incentive to deal with postal inefficiency than congressmen with cost-of-living escalators have to solve the problem of inflation.

The Postal Service was waiting this summer for its two-year-old price of ten cents for a first-class letter to be declared "permanent" by the Postal Rate Commission, so that it could then move for a "temporary" increase to 13 cents. But an administrative judge at the Rate Commission, Seymour Wenner, suprised everyone by rejecting the 10-cent rate. The Postal Service, according to Wenner, had made only the most primitive attempts to apportion its costs between various classes of mail. By Wenner's calculations, almost two cents of every 10-cent first-class stamp was going to subsidize other classes of mail, primarily second-class magazines and newspapers. He proposed that the first-class stamp be priced at 8.5 cents and that second-class rates be raised not 38 per cent but 122 per cent by 1979.

Magazines had borne the previous rate increases with a sort of simpering stoicism. But Wenner's decision "touched off alarm bells throughout the world of print journalism," in the words of *Time*. It certainly touched something-or-other at Time, Inc., which, in an article entitled "Postal Nightmare," burst into a remarkable display of feverish special pleading. Wenner's decision was "a nightmarish leap forward," the price of *Time* "could double and possibly triple," everyone on both sides of the readjustment would lose great amounts of money, "smaller publications would die by the hundreds," and even at Time, Inc., Wenner's decision

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would have "some inevitable effects on editorial quality." As if to prove this latter point, a "Time Essay," entitled "Why the Postal Service Must Be Changed" and written in the same varicose vein, followed shortly.

But even magazine publishers are aware that there are occasions when fine words butter no parsnips. Thus it was that they joined the other postal supplicants in returning to the Hill.

History Speaking

One searches in vain, through the thickets of congressional testimony, up the files of the Postal Rate Commission, through the media swamps themselves, for a coherent defense of the government subsidy to magazines and newspapers sent through the mails. Among liberal publications quick to expose favors to the privileged, and conservative ones normally shrill in their denunciation of government waste and hand-outs, there is an apparent unanimity in the feeling that the justice of this arrangement is too evident to require elaboration.

"It's something that's been around throughout our history," explains Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., by telephone from New York. The Albert Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities, as he is invariably known in postal circles, made this point at somewhat greater length in a statement to the Postal Rate Commission, filed on behalf of the Magazine Publishers Association and frequently cited by postal *cognoscenti* when the magazines' right to a taxpayer subsidy is challenged. "For 200 years freedom of information has been a top priority in our political and social order," he writes. The founding fathers favored cheap mailing of newspapers and magazines. "The reason. . .was because [sic] they perceived a powerful public interest in the promotion of newspapers and magazines." And, "To condemn magazines to a lingering death would be . . .to weaken the foundations of the republic."

(Professor Schlesinger also writes, "There is no great value in speculation about motives." He goes on to speculate, "One must hope that these actions [rate increases] are wholly unrelated to the warfare against the media of opinion in recent years.")

I put it to Professor Schlesinger that all this didn't really explain why people who don't read magazines should help pay for the reading habits of those who do. He said, "The diffusion of information benefits everybody. I suppose there's some sort of multiplier effect. The more information gets around, the more it goes beyond the original readers of the magazines."

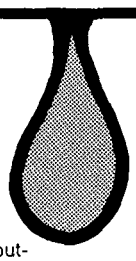
The Washington Monthly: "That's sort of a vague notion, isn't it?"

The Albert Schweitzer Professor: "It's not a vague notion. It's an idea that's been around for a long time."

TWM: "A lot of vague ideas have been around for a long time."

TASP: "Well, it may be vague to you. It's not vague to me."

Profits and politics.



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When is a Subsidy not a Subsidy?

The congressional position is similarly concise. Senator Gaylord Nelson has said that the policy of cheap second-class rates "is premised on the notion that a public fully informed on current issues is essential to the vitality of our democratic self-government. Its origins stretch back to almost the birth of our nation."

This is the basic argument. Senator Goldwater expressed it from his own point of view in an attack on Judge Wenner ("a lone administrative judge") in the Congressional *Record* of June 12. "Any time the public is deprived of a broad range of sources of culture and information that it is now getting, we cannot know what drastic changes in society may be set in motion." On another occasion Goldwater said, "What is at stake is an opportunity for the American reading public to enjoy the widest possible circulation of news, information, and opinions in the mails, a privilege which has been part of the fundamental heritage of our citizens since the founding of the Nation."

It should not be necessary for a liberal to explain to a conservative that what is at stake is not the opportunity for people to read magazines, but their willingness to exercise that opportunity by "casting their dollar ballots," as they say in Economics I. If they are not willing to pay for the privilege, why should the government subsidize them?

"We don't view it as a subsidy," says Terry Emerson, Goldwater's legislative assistant. "It's a public service to the reading public." And how is that different from a subsidy? "The type of subsidy the Senator has been opposing is a government payment to bail out industries from problems of their own making. The Senator's involvement in this issue stems from his great respect for the meaning and impact of the written word. . . . Magazines are quite vulnerable as it is." But isn't this just the free enterprise system at work? "Only if your concept of the mails is as not being a public service. It's tied to the historic public-service role of the post office.

"You like that word subsidy," Emerson elaborated. "We think this is a payment for a proper public service. We like that word payment."

That word also got me in trouble with James J. Storrow, publisher of *The Nation*, a left-wing weekly. "Your determined use of the word 'subsidy' in connection with the postal service should, I suppose, be amusing, but really it is not," he wrote me in following up on a telephone conversation. "The proper word is 'service.' "

On the telephone, Mr. Storrow made the familiar reference to history. "This was something supported by George Washington. The Postal Service is a necessary service of government. We don't expect the Army to pay for itself, or the highways. To ask the Postal Service to do so is very wrong-headed."

The reason it makes no sense to charge people for the benefit they gain from the Army is that national defense is what economists call a "public good"– it cannot be provided to anyone in particular without providing it to all. All citizens enjoy its protection equally, so it makes sense to pay for it out of general tax revenues. A "subsidy" occurs when there are some taxpayers who do not benefit from the service directly, but who nevertheless are helping to pay for it. Sometimes it is a good thing and sometimes it is not. But a rational evaluation cannot take place if people refuse to see a subsidy for what it is, just because it's one they're in favor of. Mr. Storrow and I batted this idea around for a bit, but he began to get exasperated.

"I just finished telling you that the Postal Service is a service. It should be made available to the public at a price the public is willing to pay. Sounds to me as if you've been talking to Bill Buckley."

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Buckley's *National Review* is, in fact, the only publication of note to have refused participation in the lobbying effort for cheaper postal rates. William Rusher, publisher, said, "We have not requested any subsidy because we do not believe it is sound practice for the government to go around subsidizing things, including us. I'm not going to plead for any special treatment from a government for which I have contempt."

Human Events, the extreme libertarian weekly published out of Washington, generally shares Rusher's contempt, but it has not shared his abstinence from supplication on the Hill. *Human Events* was active in a short-lived organization called the Committee for the Diversity of the Press, composed of smaller, financially modest, mostly political magazines (including *The Washington Monthly*), which felt that the Magazine Publishers Association—the official magazine lobby, dominated by Time, Inc. and the Reader's Digest Association—was not representing their interests adequately. The organization lobbied along with the MPA for relief from second-class rate increases and also worked briefly in 1973 with Representative Morris Udall on a bill which would have restructured the rates so as to give more help to magazines of smaller circulation. Bob Kephart was publisher of *Human Events* at the time it was active in this committee. I asked him how he reconciled these efforts with his magazine's libertarian principles.

"That's a tough problem. The way I rationalize it is that if this entire postal structure was demonopolized and opened up to competition, we would be paying no more than the subsidized rate we currently pay." But then why wasn't he lobbying for demonopolization rather than for an increased subsidy? "I was a close friend of the head of the committee, Bob Myers, and it was important to him to show unanimity among the small magazines of all political beliefs."

Myers, publisher of *The New Republic*, was the founder and guiding light of the Committee for the Diversity of the Press, which was essentially his desk-drawer operation. Myers and his committee emphasized the difference between their membership and that of the MPA: They had smaller circulation, less money, fewer ads; they were more dependent on reader subscriptions, more likely to go out of business; etc. On several occasions of testimony before Congress, and in his new book, entitled *The Coming Collapse of the Post Office*, Myers discusses at length the danger to small magazines of asking them to pay their own way through the mails. But nowhere does he even attempt to explain why the audience for these magazines deserves to be rescued from these dangers by the government. Myers refused *The Washington Monthly* an interview to discuss this question, saying that he was too busy promoting his book to talk about it.

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If the purpose of maintaining cheap postal rates for magazines and newspapers is to maximize distribution of facts about and serious discussion of important public issues, advocates of the subsidy will not wish to use the press coverage of Judge Wenner's decision as an example in their favor. Instead of confronting directly the issue of the subsidy and the rationale for it, newspapers and magazines covered Wenner's ruling with distortions about its meaning, and lies about its potential impact on publications and individual citizens.

It was universally reported, for example, that under Wenner's ruling the public would end up paying more in higher rates for other postal services than it would save through the reduction in first-class postage. "First-class postage would be reduced from 10 cents to 8½ cents, but the saving for the great majority of people would be more than outweighed by higher costs for everything else," wrote *Time*. "The Wenner ruling is disguised as a break for the consumer," Robert Myers wrote in *The New Republic*, but, "Any household mailing a few parcel post packages of five pounds would lose more than it saves on letters." *The Wall Street Journal*, the only major newspaper distributed to subscribers through the mails, had two long articles quoting sundry authorities about how the first-class saving would be outweighed by increased costs for parcel post (according to the Reader's Digest Association), magazine subscription costs (the MPA), and, finally, taxes (the Postal Service itself).

This is all untrue. Wenner's proposed rate structure—whatever its merits or defects—was not designed to raise additional money for the Postal Service. It was designed to reduce the amount of money generated by first-class mail by a certain amount, $900 million, and increase that brought in from the other classes by an equal amount, in order to reflect the true costs incurred by the Postal Service for each class. If you assume, as Wenner did, that there would be little effect on the volume of mail in each class, obviously on average the public would be paying exactly the same. If you assume, as the magazines insisted, that there would be dramatic decreases in volume in the previously subsidized classes, then the average postal consumer would be paying less and not more.

Driven to Pornography

Another mystification that enjoyed wide repetition concerned the effect of Judge Wenner's decision on magazine subscription prices. *Time* said that its price—along with that of *Newsweek*, *Saturday Review*, *The New Yorker*, etc.—"could double and possibly triple." Readers would have to be "not simply loyal, but rich." The publisher of *Progressive Farmer* was quoted (in *Time*, *The New York Times*, and elsewhere) as reporting that as a result of Wenner's decision, "subscriptions would doubtless have to jump from $7 to $25. Said he, 'The only farmers who will be able to subscribe will be the quite well-off ones.' " All of this was documented by the flinging about of hysterical percentages. *Time* reported postal rate increases of 175 per cent since 1971. . .122 per cent more if Wenner has his way. . . 33 per cent more 100 days later. . . five times what they were. . . 250 per cent. . . etc. Most of these huge numbers, of course, were reporting overlapping chunks of the same general increase, which made it look much larger.

It is interesting, as well, to translate these percentages into real money. By the MPA's own estimates, the annual cost of Wenner's proposed rate increases to an average weekly would be $3.95 per subscriber, that to an average monthly only 91 cents. This would be after a phasing-in period scheduled to last until 1979. But the MPA claimed, with poignant exactitude, that to cover these costs would require annual subcription

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price increases of $11.85 per weekly and $2.73 per monthly, *even without any decline in volume*. These numbers surfaced in almost every article printed on the subject of Wenner's decision. I have tried to understand how this is possible. *The Wall Street Journal* reported that it comes about because, "Publishers generally spend $2 in promotional expenses for every $1 in additional revenue."

I have studied the figures submitted to the Postal Rate Commission in support of this claim, and the magazine lobby's position seems to be this: since two-thirds of the money brought in by subscriptions goes to pay various expenses for servicing those subscriptions, magazines will have to raise three times as much money to cover postal increases as the increases will actually cost. Of course this is nonsense. It is like saying that supermarkets, on a one-percent profit margin, should raise prices a dollar for every penny increase in their costs. Lawyers for companies seeking government largesse often invent statistical tricks like these to flim-flam the federal agencies they deal with. But they rarely have such a wide opportunity to flim-flam the public as well.

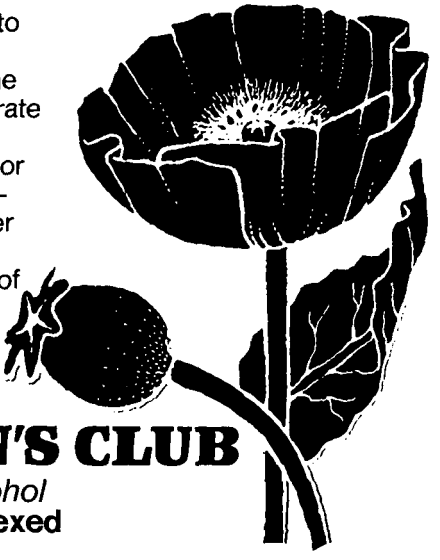
From this base of fantasy, the publishers' wider tale of woe took flight. Volume would decline, prices would soar out of readers' reach, magazines would be forced out of business, editorial quality would suffer.

There is no question that higher magazine prices will lead to lower volume, which in turn may lead to even higher prices (even if a sobering up of the magazines' dizzy figures results in a slower climb). But this is merely the reverse side of the same coin: if subsidization leads to wider circulation, eliminating the subsidy leads to smaller circulation. This effect says nothing at all about the merits of the subsidy.

As to the effect of higher postal rates on editorial content of those few magazines which succeed in struggling along under the burden of their own

The International Connection

Why, after seventy years of organized attempts to control drug abuse, has so little progress been made? Because, say the authors of this book, the international agencies set up to do the task operate with a rigidity and reverence for tradition more suitable to a gentlemen's club than to a system for controlling international crime. The authors suggest ways in which these agencies might reorder their priorities and redirect their efforts to the practical goal of minimizing the harmful effects of drug abuse.



THE GENTLEMEN'S CLUB

International Control of Drugs and Alcohol

Kettil Bruun, Lynn Pan, and **Ingemar Rexed**

Foreword by **Norval Morris**

$12.50

Studies in Crime and Justice series

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costs, the magazine industry is of two minds. The MPA warned in its brief to the Postal Rate Commission that if Wenner's rates were allowed to go through, "some publishers will deliberately change content from that appealing to a large audience to content tailored to high-income, special-interest subscribers."

On the other hand, Norman Cousins suggested in another MPA-sponsored brief, and repeated in a telephone conversation, that ever-higher postal rates may force him to broaden, rather than narrow, his appeal—in a way he considers unhealthy. "What will happen to magazines like *Saturday Review* that now go primarily through the mails is that they either go out of business or they try to compete on the newsstands, where the dominant motif is pornography."

Affluent, Active and Acquisitive

While Norman Cousins is laboring in the file drawers of the Postal Rate Commission, manning the flood walls against rising tides of pornography and red ink, his readers are living the life of Riley. "These *Saturday Review* readers," an ad for *Saturday Review* in *Advertising Age* (June 30, 1975) informs us, "are a cultured, affluent group, enjoying the finer things in life (for example, 30.6 per cent of *SR*'s subscriber audience flew abroad in the past twelve months) along with *Saturday Review*."

The July 14 edition of *Advertising Age* quotes those MPA lawyers saying that cost increases of up to $3.95 per subscriber would be "simply beyond the ability of the industry to bear." This issue also contains an ad for Time Inc.'s *Money*: "They have plenty, too. The median household income of subscribers is $24,340." ("As for wine," an earlier ad said, "70 per cent stock it in their homes, 75 per cent keep a selection of liquor on hand, and 60 per cent entertained ten or more times last year.")

Certain magazines, with "non-profit" status, are even more heavily subsidized than so-called "regular rate" publications. They enjoy a second-class magazine delivery rate approximately two-thirds that of other magazines, and a third-class bulk rate for subscriber solicitations that is less than half the normal charge. (Many magazines, including this one, have to spend more on third-class solicitations than they do on second-class mailing of the magazine itself.)

The best-known of the non-profits is *National Geographic*, which said of its readers in *Advertising Age* of June 9, "They have money and they spend it. Abundantly. . . .Nearly half of our readers took at least two vacations last year. Some took as many as four. And when they come home they like to be comfortable. Seventy-four per cent own color TV's. Seventy-two per cent have sophisticated sound systems. And 88 per cent let a machine do the washing." The *Geographic* advised advertisers that its non-profit status was a valuable marketing tool: "*National Geographic* readers value the honesty and integrity they see in our pages. They expect the same of the advertising they find there. In fact, 47 per cent of our readers feel a product advertised in our magazine would be more reliable than a similar product not advertised there. Only 27 per cent felt that way about news magazines."

Of another non-profit, we learn, "The *Smithsonian* reader is affluent, active and acquisitive. He owns his own home, two cars, and produces a median family income over $23,000 a year."

The large magazines, filled with advertising, which run the magazine lobby, are fond of pointing out that many magazines are poor and dependent upon their subscribers. This does not mean, of course, that their subscribers are poor (although this is a common fallacy). Common sense, in fact, suggests exactly the opposite. One of Bob Myers' schemes for his Committee for the Diversity of the Press, besides his

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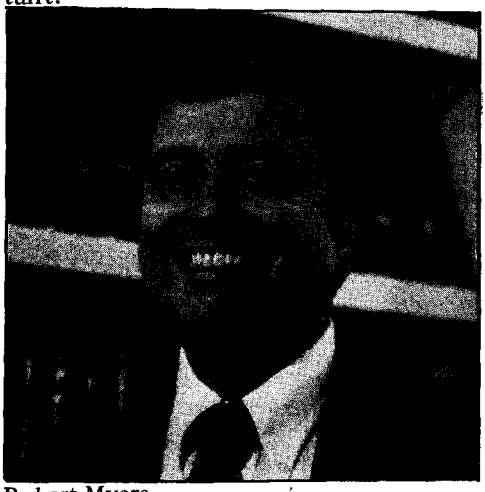
efforts to get special postal treatment for these magazines, was an attempt to sell them as a unit to advertisers. "A scruffy group we are," he wrote coyly to one potential heavy advertiser, "but certainly there is high reader involvement, high education and income and so on, the things advertisers should consider important."



Robert Myers

All of this is not to suggest that a price rise of $3.95—or even $11.85 or whatever other fantasy figure the MPA might produce—wouldn't cripple many magazines, or even put them out of business. Maybe it would. It simply indicates that, by and large, if subscribers cancel rather than pay the higher rates, it's because they don't want to, not because they can't afford to. But this makes it difficult to explain to people who don't read magazines, or fly abroad, or own sophisticated sound systems, what exactly is at stake that is so precious that they should be required to help pay for it. The most familiar liberal justification for interference with the market system is that it cannot be expected to work properly when the basic distribution of wealth is so skewed. Clearly, some different rationale is required in this case.

The dilemma gets more uncomfortable the more you poke at it. *The Washington Monthly* used to send potential advertisers a readership survey alleging that 35.3 per cent of its subscribers made international airplane trips in the previous year, that 42 per cent read six or more books during the previous three months, plus the usual broad claims about consumption of alcoholic beverages. Yet we live in fear that a $3 increase in subscription price will drive sufficient numbers of them away to drive us out of business. And the MPA would have this fear enshrined as a great principle, to be raised whenever anyone tries to take away our subsidy.

The general notion that magazines and newspapers sent through the mails perform a public service beyond the service they perform to their readers is not all that far-fetched. Obviously, a well-informed citizenry and active debate on public issues add to the effectiveness of democracy. Not even William Buckley, I'm sure, believes he is merely selling a product, putting his goods on the market for the benefit only of the immediate consumer with no external benefit to society as a whole. Certainly *The Washington Monthly* does not.

Trouble is, the specific argument that needs to be made, if the subsidy is to be rigorously defended, is that it's good for people in general to have *other* people well-informed—so good for them that they ought to pay for the privilege in case the others, probably wealthier and better informed to begin with, are unwilling to pay for it themselves. This is pretty stark compared to a general invocation of the free flow of ideas and the noble course of history. It sounds awfully elitist.

And even if you believe it, there's an underlying hypocrisy involved—a disheartening indication of how fragile this alleged dedication to the free flow of ideas is, even among those most deeply in the swim. Without the subsidy, we are told by *Time*, "major voices in America's free press are threatened with extinction." But if people who read magazines were as convinced of their importance as people who don't read them are asked to be, they would not be scared away

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by piddling increases of a couple dollars a year, and the subsidy would not be necessary.

The more you think about it, the less this subsidy appears as an institution vital to the functioning of democracy and the more it begins to look like a little freebie, a little self-indulgence, awarded to themselves for good behavior by the more thoughtful elements of the middle and upper classes. When I asked Norman Cousins how he would justify the subsidy to a person who does not read magazines, he said, "I don't want to persuade him. I want to persuade *you*." This is indeed his task, and an easy one most likely. The beauty of a subsidy to people who read magazines is that those who need to be persuaded of its value generally are those who benefit from it. This may explain the absence of a rigorous defense. It's clear that the continuing subsidy is not the result of any conspiracy between politicians and the press, or completely the result of heavy lobbying by the magazine publishers. There is simply a class interest shared by politicians and magazine readers, which no one who does not benefit from it is in a position to challenge. Of course, it's hardly worth challenging. No big deal, really, just a few dollars a year per person—a bit more if Mr. Myers gets his way, a bit less if Judge Wenner triumphs. But the self-congratulatory air with which it is accepted—not to mention the deceit and doubletalk with which it is defended—is unattractive.

Means and Ends

Furthermore, even accepting that the flow of information and ideas needs and deserves to be subsidized by the government, one must deal with the utter irrationality of underpriced postal rates for magazines and newspapers as a way of doing it. It is an extreme example of what conservative publications usually like to point out as true of most government subsidies: the connection between the end and means is erratic at best and at worst, nonexistent.

Presumably this free flow occurs equally in any number of ways—in magazines sold on newsstands, newspapers delivered by paperboys, books sold in stores, mimeographed leaflets distributed on street corners, etc. Yet the subsidy goes only to publications sent through the mails. And it is paid for not only out of general tax revenues, but also by an invisible tax on first-class mail users—who themselves are engaging in the free flow of information and ideas. A subsidy to the paper industry would benefit all forms of written communication equally. But can you imagine such a subsidy getting similar unanimous support?

Any passing thought that the current postal subsidy may selectively benefit ideas and information more directly relevant to the political process is an utter delusion. If anything, the rates and services are structured to produce exactly the opposite result. Almost the entire benefit of the subsidy goes not to political magazines which may need it to survive, but to prosperous magazines, usually apolitical, published primarily for the benefit of advertisers. Not coincidentally, it is these magazines which are most active in lobbying for the subsidy (invoking of course, not their own interests but those of "thousands of smaller and more specialized publications," as *The Washington Post*, owner of *Newsweek*, put it in a recent editorial).

The most egregious example of how grotesquely inefficient the current postal rate structure is as a way to stimulate political discourse is the case of the so-called non-profits. In order to qualify for the lower non-profit rate, a publication *must be non-political*. Thus the rate structure punishes magazines dealing with political issues by charging them more. The small political magazines which are truly non-profit, squatting on the knife-edge of bankruptcy, do not

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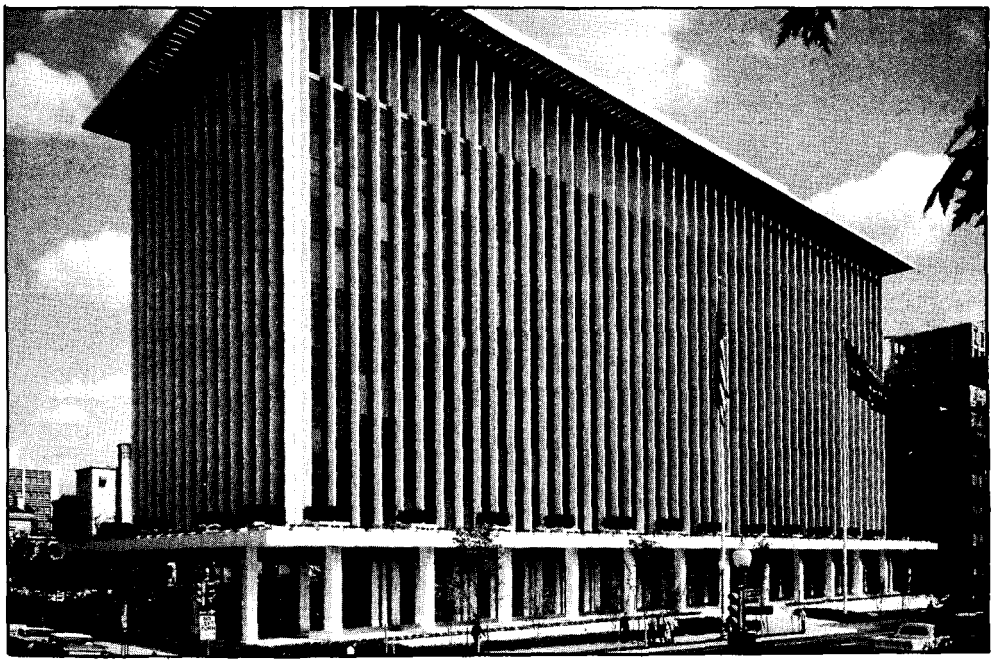

National Geographic Building

qualify for the non-profit rate. The phrase "non-profit" is itself a deceptive legalism (a "term of art," as they teach law students to call them). While the subsidy helps the travel industry advertisers in *National Geographic* and the drug companies who purchase space in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* get their messages across to affluent readers on the cheap, these magazines avoid turning a profit by equipping palatial editorial chambers, paying generous salaries and travel allowances, throwing elaborate luncheons, etc.

National Geographic's circulation is over eight million copies a month. Not having to pay its own way saves the *Geographic*, at an absolute minimum, $10 million a year. By comparison, the annual subsidy to *The Washington Monthly* (to pick an arbitrary example), computed on the basis of the MPA's own 91 cents per reader, is less than $25,000.

Even within the regular second-class rate, there is discrimination in favor of the large commercial publications and against the smaller ones in terms of the quality of service provided. Publications coming out at intervals of a week or less may apply to the Postal Service for so-called "red-tag" or "time-value" service. This applies primarily to *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Sports Illustrated*. etc. For second-class rates, these magazines get treated like first-class mail. Thus *Time* is delivered within a day of publication whereas *The Washington Monthly*, for the same price, takes up to a week. *The Wall Street Journal* for the very same price, gets the best service of all. In the Washington area, for example, Postal Service trucks drive out to the *Journal*'s plant in suburban Maryland to pick up the copies early in the morning. They sort them and have them delivered the same morning as far away as Richmond, Virginia.

(This disparity in service suggests a potential solution for the moral dilemma of the second-class user. Allowing the Postal Service to take advantage of "down time"—when its labor force and equipment aren't needed for first-class mail—might result in a second-class rate not very different from the one currently being charged.)

And of course it's not just

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magazines that enjoy this subsidy. Heavy mail-order catalogues, junk mail of all sorts, books and records sent by mail, all benefit from the overcharging of the first-class stamp.

This scattershot effect (as conservatives will tell you when the subject happens not to be magazines) is the inevitable result of any indirect subsidy which has not been justified with clarity and applied with some finesse. Yet the organs we turn to for clarity on such public issues—which want to be paid by the government for providing it—have every incentive not to supply it.

Many of the same problems arise, and are debated, in attempts to justify government subsidy of the arts. Hard-core libertarians oppose it, for all the obvious reasons. Others support it, frequently and eloquently. The difference is that there *is* discussion. This is because any subsidy that takes place is explicit and direct, and because the beneficiaries of the subsidy don't have a monopoly on the channels of public discussion.

Back to The Hill

Before 1970, when Congress used to set postal rates, no public discussion of the postal subsidy to magazines and newspapers was necessary, because there was little consciousness that it was a subsidy. Congress simply set rates wherever it liked and made up whatever deficit resulted. Now that rates are set by an independent commission, with a mandate to see that each class of mail pays its own costs, the subsidy cannot be maintained without being made explicit. "We're living in a regulated environment," said Chapin Carpenter, Jr., head lobbyist of the MPA. "It used to be different. We just went in front of a congressional committee and told them our story."

The magazine lobbyists and others told their story in July to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which reported out a bill simply overriding Judge Wenner's decision and the elaborate regulatory rituals leading up to it. The bill would give the Postal Service permission to raise first-class rates rather than lower them, and to continue its more modest scale of second-class increases. It also would authorize a permanent annual subsidy to the Postal Service of $35 per mailbox. The subsidy proposal is opposed by the White House, and the future of the bill is uncertain.

In the longer run, the magazines want to bring back the old days permanently. Rather than asking for a specific appropriation to cover a second-class mail deficit, and defending the subsidy explicitly, they are urging Congress to take back general rate-setting duties. "Congress must take back the power to review rates," says a "Time Essay." And from Mr. Myers in *The New Republic* ("Mail Muddle"), "Allowing rates to be set by experts, whose conception of the public interest is an idiosyncratic matter, has been an unforeseen and high price to pay for the 1970 Postal Reorganization Act in terms of the diversity of printed publications available to the public, and quality mail service."

In other words, back to the old vague generalities and scare tactics. In this way the magazines and newspapers may get the help they need, so as to continue to supply the politicians that "public fully informed on current issues" which they say they want, without having to use *that word* "subsidy" at all. This would be useful, because it's a word which, used too often, makes Terry Emerson of Senator Goldwater's office burst out laughing.

The Washington Monthly: "Sorry, did I say subsidy? I meant payment."

Emerson: "Maybe subsidy isn't a bad word for you. We usually think of a subsidy as a bad thing. This is a payment."

TWM: "Payment for a public service."

Emerson: "Right."

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The Case Against Energy Independence

by Charles Peters and Glen Allerhand

There seems to be nearly unanimous support for the goal of energy independence. Some favor attaining it by reducing consumption through conservation, rationing, or taxation. Others seek independence by increasing production through the incentive of higher prices. But almost everyone, be he liberal or conservative, agrees that the United States should not be dependent on foreign energy.

We disagree.

Publishing a monthly magazine means disciplining yourself not to write about things you think will become commonplaces of discussion in the daily newspapers and weekly magazines before your next issue appears. Thus each month for the last six months or so, we have chosen not to make the case against energy independence because we thought it was obvious enough that it would soon appear in many other publications. We were wrong. Almost nothing has been said, so we've decided to speak up. Here is a brief outline of our case.

Continued pursuit of the policy of energy independence will lead to continued inflation, recession, and environmental damage.

Charles Peters is editor-in-chief of The Washington Monthly. *Glen Allerhand is studying political science at the University of Michigan and was a summer intern at* The Washington Monthly.

Consider the following results of such a policy:

- Much more use of coal, with a technology still inadequate to protect the quality of the air we breathe.
- Much more strip-mining, with its destruction of agricultural and timber lands and its pollution of streams.
- Much more off-shore oil drilling, with its threat to the life of the ocean and to coastal ecology.
- Much more nuclear power, with its dangers of terrorist hijacking and accidental holocaust.
- Much more expense—$50 billion to $100 billion more per year to produce independence by the presidential target year of 1985.

The goal of energy independence is also responsible for President Ford's desire to decontrol the price of domestic oil. Decontrol will cost the average consumer a minimum of $200 a year, according to one of the Administration's own experts, Eric Zausner, deputy to Frank Zarb at the Federal Energy Administration. Ralph Nader thinks it will be more like $900. Ford's sole justification for decontrol is that it will encourage development of domestic sources of energy and lead to energy independence.

Late this month the Arabs will raise their price, probably around $2 a barrel. After all, says Farouk M. Akhdar, a leading Saudi official, "If the price of oil is too high, why do

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you increase the price in your own country?" So the forthcoming OPEC increase is defended by pointing to our own proposed decontrol, which in turn is justified by Project Independence.

And this OPEC increase, according to another of the Administration's own, Gerald Parsky, an assistant secretary of the Treasury, "could pull down economic growth by as much as two to three per cent and around 600,000 workers could be forced out of their jobs."

The average price of oil—domestic and imported—is now between $9.50 and $10 a barrel. With decontrol and an increase in the price of imports, this could easily rise to about $15 by the end of the year, according to Edwin L. Dale, Jr. of *The New York Times*. It seems more likely, however, that Ford, and his allies in the oil companies, will try to postpone the worst price increases until after the general election in 1976, just as Nixon did his best to control inflation in 1972.

But even if decontrol is stretched out over two years, the new Congressional Budget Office estimates that it could cost us an average of $21 billion annually in gross national product. The Budget Office also predicts that Ford's energy policy would cause a rise of $33 billion annually in domestic oil prices.

This, of course, is just in the price of oil. It in turn causes a host of other prices to rise—everything from synthetic textiles to air fares.

The Air Transport Association, for example, estimates that the higher operating costs would put one out of every five commercial planes in mothballs and compel the airlines to lay off one out of every seven employees.

Does It Make Sense?

Since the only justification for the Ford decontrol policy that would produce these unsettling results is energy independence*—that the rising prices would stimulate greater domestic exploration and production—it's interesting to note that as domestic oil prices have tripled in the last three years, domestic production has continued to decline. It's also a little hard to see how the decontrol of old oil—which is all that is controlled—will encourage the discovery of new oil, which is already decontrolled.

Assuming, however, that the oil companies would dutifully plow their profits into exploration and that higher prices would in fact stimulate more domestic production, the question remains: Do we want to pay the higher price and does it make any sense?

The average barrel of Arabian oil costs 15 cents to produce; a barrel of American oil, anything from $2.50 to $10. The difference is dramatic and illustrates how, from the standpoint of an efficient world economy, both America's independence policy and the Arab's pricing policy border on insanity. The world's most efficient food producer prepares to tear up its farm lands to get coal, while the world's most efficient energy producer charges prices that have absolutely no relationship to cost.

After the World War I sugar famine in Europe, consumer countries wanted to develop independence in sugar and

*If the reason for decontrol is the goal of energy independence, the reason for energy independence is the fear of another Arab embargo. Yet in the first quarter of 1975 the Arabs furnished only 7.8 per cent of the total oil requirements of the United States. While the percentage of Arab oil in our total imports is rising, the fact remains that we get most of our oil imports from non-Arab countries and, with reasonable attention to maintaining an adequate stockpile (in April it was 780-days worth of Arab imports), we could ride out an Arab embargo with only the mildest hardship. With World-War-II-type rationing, we could even fight a World-War-II-dimension war without going outside the Western Hemisphere for oil. In other words, there is no real short-term oil shortage. In the long term, of course, the world does face exhaustion of its fossil fuels—which is good enough reason for energy research and conservation but not good enough reason for wrecking the economy and the environment in a head-long rush for energy independence.

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proceeded to encourage domestic sugar-beet production and erect tariff barriers and import quotas. The result was the widespread but uneconomic substitution of high-cost beet sugar for low-cost cane sugar.

Russia appears to have learned the sugar-beet lesson and is having second thoughts about the cost-effectiveness of its own efforts to become self-sufficient in agriculture. Recently *Pravda* devoted a full page to a speech by Fyodor D. Kulakov, secretary in charge of agriculture for the Central Committee of the Communist Party, in which he repeatedly mentioned the inadequacy of return on Soviet agricultural investment. The latest figures available show only a 0.42-ruble increase in production for every one ruble invested.

Mercantilism

The Russians, then, may be learning one of the main lessons of Adam Smith, a man they have not heretofore honored as prophet. Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, first published in 1776, was a tract against "mercantilism"—the 18th century's name for Project Independence. The nations of Europe at that time were obsessed with the idea of preserving their gold reserves by preventing imports. To this end each country erected high tariff barriers to foreign trade and attempted to produce internally as many of the goods it needed as possible. Smith's famous discussion of the division of labor was intended to show how mercantilism led to inefficiency and reduced prosperity for all nations.

It does seem to make sense for a country to produce what it can produce more economically than others and to buy from others what they can produce more economically than it.

The catch here, of course, is that while the Arabs can produce oil at a low cost, they want to sell it at a high price. The reason is that they want to get as much as they can in the next few years—before we and other nations develop alternate sources of energy. In other words, the faster we move toward energy independence, the greater the Arabs' interest in concentrating their profits now. This is the irony of ironies. If we weren't trying to develop energy independence, they would not have to hold us up now. What they need is a long-term assurance of reasonable prices so that they won't have to charge $11 today for fear they won't be able to get 11 cents in 1985.

Of course the conventional argument is that the Arabs' oil is a finite resource for which they need to get all they can while the getting's good. The fact is that it's not that finite—the Arabs have another 30 years' worth of oil—and the getting might not be so good if prices soar so high that customers go bankrupt trying to pay them.

The Shah of Iran says his country has lost 35 per cent of its purchasing power since the beginning of 1974 because of the world-wide inflation and decline in the value of the dollar. (The Shah, who is not lacking in chutzpah, uses this to justify another price increase.)

Instead of taking on the Shah's argument and turning it against him—his dollars are worth less because of the inflation his oil prices caused—the United States seems terribly fearful of offending Iran and Saudi Arabia. Indeed, our policy seems to be to protect those conservative regimes as a bulwark of stability in the Middle East. The Administration seems to assume that these governments will be threatened if oil prices don't continue to go up.

Focus on Economics

There is another factor in America's going along with the Shah. Henry Kissinger cares little about economics and tends to avoid getting involved in economic policy—he leaves oil policy

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to an assistant named Thomas Enders, who believes in the high-price route to energy independence.

Congress has a similar distaste for economics. The result is that for two years it has done nothing to prevent a repetition of the two major causes of our recent inflation—the 1972 Russian wheat deal and the 1973-74 increases in oil prices.

The shame of all this is that what we need most is a diplomacy that focuses on economics. Producers all over the world need assurance of stable prices; consumers need assurance of adequate supply at a reasonable price. This is glaringly true of the raw material suppliers of the Third World, but it really applies to everyone. A healthy world economy cannot be left to chance any longer.

Last April, at the international conference on energy in Paris, we parried Third World demands to broaden the agenda to include all raw materials. Yet this is really what should be done—and in doing so we would gain allies in convincing the Arabs that stability and reasonableness is in the interest of us all.

What else will convince the Arabs?

The basic argument is that anyone who has something to sell needs a customer. And the Arabs, with the last price rise, came terribly close to destroying quite a few customers. Another price increase might do the trick.

Second, he who unleashes the tiger may get bit. Or, as we pointed out in our February issue, the world-wide inflation-recession could have disastrous consequences for Egypt. Suppose angry mobs raise a howling radical to power who will use Radio Cairo to stir up revolution in Saudi Arabia. A lot of princes would end up in unmarked graves. This result would not seem to serve our policy of protecting the present Saudi regime. And it is not just a remote possibility. There have already been inflation-inspired demonstrations in Cairo.

Third, the Arabs need places to invest their wealth. The widest choice of investment opportunity in the world exists in the United States. It is in the Arab's interest for the United States to have a stable, prospering economy in which the value of Arab investment will grow. This point is made with special persuasiveness in an important new book, *U. S. Energy: Policy, Alternatives for Security*, by Douglas R. Bohi and Milton Russell (Johns Hopkins University Press).

Wendell Willkie's One World

There is evidence—again, see our February issue—that nothing pains the Shah and at least some of the Arabs more than our playing around with the price of gold. While the reasons for this are obscure, it is nevertheless so. and the threat should be part of our psychological weaponry in dealing with them.

But such weapons should be kept in the background, to be used only upon the recalcitrant. The primary argument is that Wendell Willkie turned out to be right. It is one world, no longer merely in the sense that military aggression in one place will ultimately affect others, but in the sense that severe economic problems in any part of the world can set off shock waves that can reach all the rest of us. The old argument was that if we didn't learn to live together, we would all end up naked and radiated in a nuclear desert. The new truth is that if we don't get together economically, we'll all end up on the bread line with no one to hand out the bread.

Of course, it is possible that this reasoning will not commend itself to the OPEC nations, that they and the other countries of the world will not want to join us in working out a fair system of prices for one another's products. But shouldn't we at least make a major effort to persuade them before we continue on the path to energy independence with all its terrible hazards for the economy and the environment?

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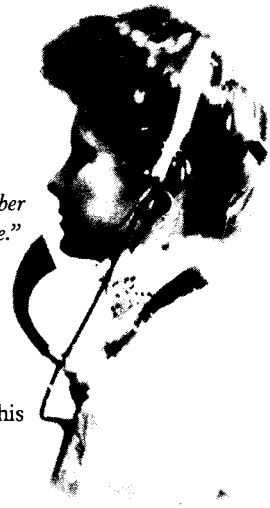
One of a series of reports on the first hundred years of the telephone.

How there came to be only one telephone company in town.



"Number please."

"In many cities of the United States, and in rural communities as well, there are dual and competing telephone systems, doing both local and long-distance business...Patrons of these telephone systems are put to endless annoyance and increased expense. In order to reach all the people using telephones, the telephone patron finds he must install two telephones in his house and office...Double systems of cables, wires and conduits burden the streets and highways."

—Report of the House of Representatives Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 67th Congress (1921)

When Alexander Graham Bell's telephone patents expired in 1893 and 1894, new telephone companies sprang up almost overnight. The accepted way of organizing communications was to have the "dual and competing telephone systems" cited in the Congressional report.

"Call us. We're on the Bell," was a frequent invitation in those days, to friends or customers. Central, the voice of "Number, please?", spent a lot of time explaining to customers that the number wanted was on the town's other telephone system. And each month there were two telephone bills to pay.

A solution to the problem had been worked out long before by John Stuart Mill. In 1847 Mill had studied the situation of two other new industries that supplied water and gas through pipes to the homes and businesses of London:

"It is obvious, for example, how great an economy of labour would be obtained if London were supplied by a single gas or water company instead of the existing plurality. While there are even as many as two, this implies double establishments of all sorts, when only one, with a small increase, could probably perform the whole operation equally well; double sets of machinery and works, when the whole of the gas and water required could generally be produced by one set only; even double sets of pipes, if the companies did not prevent this needless expense by agreeing upon a division of the territory. Were there only one establishment, it could make lower charges, consistently with obtaining the rate of profit now realized."

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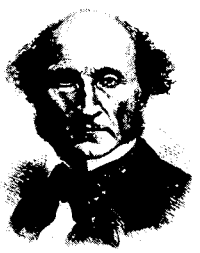
Such a consolidation, Mill saw, was clearly in the public interest. The concept of a "public utility" was reinforced.



John Stuart Mill

When Edison's electric light superseded illuminating gas, the parallel was obvious. It was not quite so obvious for the telephone.

It was not hard to see that the public benefited from having water piped into homes. But while some viewed the telephone companies as providing a similar vital service, others regarded them as being more akin to manufacturers selling ingenious machines in the luxury class. When only a few people had telephones, one observer called them "electric toys." Should Bell's invention be compared with Edison's new electric light, or was it more like his phonograph? As the proportion of homes and businesses with telephones grew, the usefulness of the telephone increased greatly.

Then there was the matter of geographic area served. An exclusive franchise for a specified area is a natural corollary of Mill's concept of a public utility. And exclusiveness was a troublesome subject.

When two or more rivals supply a similar service, competition keeps each up to the mark, or else some eventually lose customers and go out of business. If in the public interest, government removes that rivalry by granting exclusive franchises, then government must provide the mechanisms for preventing arbitrary or excessive charges or unreasonable or discriminatory regulations.

The doctrine of public regulation of privately owned resources has its roots in Roman law and the tenet of *justum pretium* —"just price." English common law provided a rationale for regulation. In an essay on rates for wharf services, Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of England, established in 1670 the criterion that private industries "affected with a public interest" may be regulated by the public:

> "If the King or subject have a public wharf unto which all persons that come to that port must come and unload their goods...because they are the only wharfs licensed by the King...or because there is no other wharf in that port...there cannot be taken arbitrary and excessive duties...but the duties must be reasonable and moderate....For now the wharf and crane and other conveniences are affected with a public interest."

Various municipal boards did undertake to control the quality of service provided by water, gas and electric companies, usually through periodic reviews of franchises granted. It was no easy task. For quality of service leads quickly to questions of cost: good service for the price charged;

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equal prices for all customers for services of a similar nature, so that no one is discriminated against; adequate service capacity so that anyone able to pay for the service can have it.

Local officials had their hands full regulating the three industries already mentioned (water, gas, electricity). They were not eager to take on the responsibility of regulating the telephone business. And so redundant companies continued to exist in many towns. Confusion multiplied geometrically as the companies strung long distance lines to connect various cities.

Theodore N. Vail

Soon after he was elected A.T.&T. President in 1907, Vail enunciated the goal: "One policy, one system, universal service." He saw that the future of the business depended on having one unified telephone service for the entire nation—a service that every family and business could enjoy. That meant ending duplicate telephone companies, replacing them with exclusive telephone franchises. In other words, Vail understood that it was not enough for the nation to have telephone companies. What was needed—and what he sought to create—was a *telephone system.* Vail saw, too, that the very "exclusivity" of the franchises invited—indeed, demanded—regulation by officials elected or supported by the public to protect the public interest.

Vail thus agreed with the efforts of Gov. Charles Evans Hughes of New York and Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, who were working to persuade state legislatures to try a new approach to regulation through state utility commissions—responsive to the public at the state level—as best serving the public interest.

The state commissions, supported by public desire for efficient regulation, worked. Most public utilities came to be regulated on a statewide basis, and a framework of efficient regulation was set.

Vail recognized, however, that national regulation also was a necessary complement to state regulation, particularly since one company—A.T.&T.—was chiefly responsible for interconnecting the individual telephone companies into a telephone system.

As noted earlier, regulation of telephone companies already had begun to develop at the state level. But on the national level—for telephone lines and services crossing state boundaries—there was no federal counterpart to the state regulatory commissions, although telegraph companies had been regulated to some extent by the Postmaster General and the Interstate Commerce Commission under statutes dating back to the 19th century.

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Alexander Graham Bell

The first effort at comprehensive federal regulation came in the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, amending the Interstate Commerce Act. Telephone, telegraph and cable companies were declared to be common carriers subject to ICC regulation.

Federal regulation took a new turn in 1934 with the passage by Congress of the Communications Act, which established the Federal Communications Commission. The intent of Congress—as it had been the intent of both Bell and Vail—is outlined in Section I of the Communications Act:

"For the purpose of regulating interstate and foreign communications by wire and radio so as to make available, so far as possible, to all the people of the United States a rapid, efficient, nationwide and worldwide wire and radio communication service with adequate facilities at reasonable charges...."

Almost alone among the nations of the world, then, this country entrusted the development and operation of its communications resources to private enterprise. It endowed companies with the rights and responsibilities of common carriers, each solely privileged to purvey its services within its territory but all in turn strictly accountable through state and national regulation to the public they serve.

Has it worked?

In 1968, President Johnson's Task Force on Communications Policy concluded, "It can be truly said that the United States has the finest telephone system in the world."

That kind of service didn't just happen. It was planned that way, right from the start.

One Bell System. It works.

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Tying the Imperial Purse Strings

by Ben Roberts

Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon brought it to our attention, and Arthur Schlesinger graced it with an official label: the Imperial Presidency. Now, members of Congress huff and puff about the need to reassert control over foreign and domestic policy, and add provisions to bills demanding that they—Congress—be treated to something called "consultation" before the President exercises his imperial prerogatives. The *Mayaguez* incident—when President Ford had low-level White House staff members read a brief statement to congressional leaders over the telephone—showed how easily a president can negotiate such strictures.

An analogy may be drawn to congressional activity in opposition to the war in Vietnam. While congressional doves concentrated their efforts. on troop withdrawal deadlines, the Pentagon budget slipped right through Congress and into the war machine. In fact, the means of curbing the imperial presidency lie close at the congressional hand, just as those of ending the war did. Here, Congress' abandonment of its most effective technique of supervision is even more complete. The White House supports itself on money that passes through Congress virtually unreviewed. There is no way even to determine how much money is spent on the President and his staff every year.

Congress reviews presidential finances in what is known on Capitol Hill as a "spirit of comity." Indeed the imperial presidency operates technically in violation of the law. According to the laws of the United States, in 1975 the President receives a salary of $200,000 plus $50,000 for expenses. He is authorized $40,000 for travel. He is authorized 16 aides, whose individual salaries cannot exceed $42,500. He may request that people from other departments be assigned to the White House for temporary duty. And that's all. Where does the rest come from?

The vast majority of tax dollars that support the imperial presidency are not authorized to be spent for that purpose. This technical violation of the law would not be terribly important, except that it explains how little control—or even knowledge—Congress has of how much the White House is spending, and on what. Unauthorized money gets to the White House in two ways; either it is appropriated to the White House and spent by it without ever having been

Ben Roberts is a pseudonym. The authors are two federal budget analysts.

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authorized for any particular purpose, or it is authorized for and appropriated to a wide variety of other government agencies which provide goods, services and personnel to the White House without charge. In both cases there is no opportunity for Congress to examine what the money is being spent for; and, in fact, no serious examination has ever been attempted.

The normal process by which federal revenues turn into government activity involves two committees in each body of Congress: one to authorize some activity, and one to appropriate money for it. Congressional rules forbid appropriations for activities that have not been authorized. The White House shares with the CIA the distinction of having circumvented these rules. This form of "blank check" funding is more effective than the invocation of "executive privilege" in keeping the courtiers of the imperial president beyond congressional supervision.

The last President to operate the White House as authorized by law was Franklin Roosevelt. In 1933 he had six aides and a clerical staff of 40. This was sufficient to get him through the Depression. When Roosevelt proposed legislation in 1937 to increase the size and power of the White House, Congress voted it down. Eventually it agreed to give him six more personal assistants and to create the Executive Office of the President by moving the Bureau of the Budget from the Treasury Department. With this alteration, the White House prosecuted World War II.

Things are very different today.

The White House Office itself now includes more than 500 people. The annual appropriations bills for the White House staff provide that the money can be spent "without regard to the provisions of law regulating the employment and compensation of persons in the Government Service." These appropriations are accounted for solely on the President's word. No one can find out how he and his staff choose to spend the money.

In addition to the White House Office itself, there are the Executive Offices of the President, comprised of more than a dozen separate "offices" or departments employing 1,600 people. By contrast to the congressional opposition to FDR's expansion plans, President Nixon's 1970 executive reorganization—which added almost 100 people to the presidential staff—faced almost no resistance.

Beyond staff salaries, the President has almost complete control of a $1-million fund to be used "for emergencies affecting the national interest, security, or defense which may arise at home or abroad. . . ." In 1974, this money was used for the Federal Property Council, the Energy Policy Council, and the United States-Puerto Rico Ad Hoc Advisory Group. Just how these qualified as emergencies is not clear.

Until recently, the President also was given a $1.5-million Special Projects fund every year. This was money that paid the travel expenses of Hunt and Liddy in preparing for the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. After this use of the special projects fund was revealed it was dropped as a separate budget item. But the $1.5 million merely was added to the general appropriation for the White House Office, where it is even more effectively buried.

The official White House budget represents only a tiny fraction of what it costs to maintain the presidency. Most of the White House expenses are buried in the budgets of other wings of the government. These expenses range from large—the $35 million that the Pentagon spends annually on the White House communication system—to trivial—White House tour guides employed by the Treasury Department; and from what is probably needed—30 military chauffeurs for White House limousines—to what is probably not—150 Navy men stationed at Camp David.

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Every $100,000 spent by other agencies for White House expenses, however necessary, frees official White House funds intended to cover such expenses for unreviewed and potentially undesirable activity. More important, the other agencies' expenses for the White House cannot be reviewed, because they cannot be found.

For example, what budget analyst attempting to review the White House's bankroll would think to examine the books of the National Park Service? Yet this division of the Department of the Interior spends millions annually on the presidency. The Park Service is responsible for the $1.2 million annually appropriated for operation of the Executive Residence.(Recently Park Service administrators found themselves defending the use of money from this fund to pay for Richard Nixon's personal valet and maid, detailed to his "Casa Pacifica" long after he had resigned as President.) The National Park Service provides Camp Hoover, yet another rustic retreat, this one in Shenandoah National Park, Virginia, reserved for the use of White House aides. The Park Service has spent over $3 million of its own funds since 1969 to repair the electrical and air conditioning systems in the White House.

The presidential staff is swollen, in a way that does not appear in its budget and cannot be reviewed by Congress, by the practice of getting other government units to "detail" staff members both to the White House Office and to the Executive Office of the President. The fiction is maintained that these assignments are temporary. But former Press Secretary George Reedy wrote after his White House service that many people working in the White House did not even know where the agencies that officially employed them were located. About 70 people were detailed to the White House during 1974.

The recent flurry of excitement about the possibility of CIA operatives inside the White House shows how ignorant people are of this widespread practice. As it developed, Alexander Butterfield was not employed by the CIA or connected with it in any way. But it would not be exceptional to find that anyone working in the White House really was employed by the CIA, the Air Force, or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The unit in charge of reviewing the official White House budget for the House of Representatives is the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations. Rep. Tom Steed, a chairman of the unreconstructed go-along-and-get-along variety, runs it through the White House appropriation requests in what he describes as a "spirit of comity." Comity means in theory that the Congress won't use the budget mechanism to destroy the separation of powers. In practice, it has come to mean that the subcommittee gives the White House all the money it wants, no questions asked. Yet unrestricted power in the White House poses an equal threat to that beloved separation.

Even a cost-cutter as legendary as Caspar Weinberger shies away from chopping into White House money. As deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, "Cap the Knife" was called upon in April 1972 to justify the White House special projects fund. He claimed not to be concerned about it, adding with complacency, "I might say parenthetically that it is much more difficult to get by Mr. Haldeman than it is even to get by me on approval of this fund. I think that is the reason for its quite low usage. He guards it very jealously."

This was two months before the Watergate break-in. Haldeman was guarding the money, it turns out, in order to save it for the escapades of Liddy and Hunt.

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The Low Road to Reform

In each of the past three years, Congress has attempted half-heartedly, and failed, to reform the White House budgeting procedure. In 1973, during the penultimate Watergate summer, the White House appropriation was briefly removed from the 1974 federal budget after Rep. John Dingell pointed out that it had not been properly authorized. The funds were soon quietly restored and approved.

In 1974, three months before his resignation, President Nixon submitted an open-ended authorization bill providing for unlimited expansion of the White House staff and budget. The bill was debated, amended, and ultimately forgotten. The 1975 White House budget passed through Congress without authorization.

The Senate will vote this month on an authorization bill passed by the House in July. The bill was written by the Ford Administration, working closely with Chairman David Henderson, a Southern conservative Democrat, and the Republican minority of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which, for lack of a more appropriate forum, reviews legislation relating to the presidency. The bill limits White House staff members in the highest pay bracket to 95, which is 41 more than there are even now. It was amended on the floor of the House, after a fight led by Reps. Morris Udall, Pat Schroeder, and Herb Harris, to provide for a congressional audit of the President's entertainment and travel expenses. But an amendment to limit the top-level White House staff to its present level of 54 was defeated, 234 to 157.

The Senate still has an opportunity to tighten up this bill, but it is an opportunity that probably will be passed up. Gale McGee, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, reportedly has agreed not to oppose the White House's version of the authorization bill, in exchange for President Ford's agreement not to veto the recent cost-of-living pay raises for congressmen and high-ranking civil servants.

The kind of "reform" embodied in the White House authorization bill, although it puts the presidency back on a proper legal footing, is trivial. A few simple changes could bring the imperial presidency under closer congressional control:

* The White House should be required to reimburse other agencies for the cost of goods, services, or personnel which they supply to it. Such a reform would, in fact, eliminate most of the incentive for borrowing people and money from other agencies. The White House would have to request the money for such reimbursement from Congress at budget time. Members of Congress, and the public, would be able to know for the first time how much money the presidency costs and what exactly it is being spent on.

* The "special projects" and "emergency" funds should be eliminated. They are rarely used for emergencies and act primarily as sources of ready cash that don't need to be accounted for. They are too small to be useful in a real emergency, when Congress would, of course, be available to appropriate the needed funds.

* The appropriate congressional subcommittee should conduct a consolidated annual review of *all* spending on the presidency, in a spirit of reasonable curiosity rather than "comity."

No thoughtful person wants to deny the President the money and staff necessary to do his job. But a long-overdue hard-nosed look at the White House budget might indicate that there is money going for jobs that might better be done elsewhere—or not done at all. The best way to insure that money isn't being spent on improper activities is to know how it *is* being spent. ■

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Selling the Sahel

by Karen DeYoung

Each year as appropriations time rolls around, the Agency for International Development must come up with a reason why the United States should have a foreign assistance program. Since Congress is notoriously fickle about what it thinks foreign aid should do, AID, as the agency responsible for both carrying out old programs and developing new ones, frequently finds itself caught between changing congressional priorities.

This year's AID marketing strategy uses a sales pitch that is new in the annals of AID salesmanship. The novel gimmick is *humanitarianism*—helping foreigners for no other reason except that they are poor and hungry. It has a nice ring to it.

Karen DeYoung is a Washington writer.

If the past is any guide, however, Congress will tire of humanitarianism as quickly as it tired of previous campaign slogans, and too quickly for the programs AID develops to do any good for anybody except the AID bureaucracy, which will have achieved the primary goal of all bureaucracies: short-term self preservation.

Since foreign assistance first began under the Marshall Plan, aid has been promoted and sold, in rapid succession, as a way of healing the scars of World War II in Western Europe, keeping the Communists out of the Far and Middle East, developing trading partners in Latin America, and, most recently, helping the war effort in Southeast Asia. It should come as no surprise that humanitarianism is AID's newest *raison d'etre*. By 1972, when Congress was

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already fed up with Vietnam, AID was still conscientiously digging irrigation ditches for peasants to jump into when the bombs fell. As what came to be labeled U. S. imperialism became increasingly unpopular, AID took much of the rap for it. During the Foreign Assistance Act hearings of 1973, members of Congress lectured AID witnesses about global interdependence, least-developed countries, and world-wide famine. AID's protests that it had only been following congressional orders struck a somewhat sour note.

The wave of the future, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee decreed in 1973, was "to provide increased emphasis on the immediate needs of the world's poorest people," and if AID wanted to stay in business, it had better come up with a way to do just that.

In Search of the Poorest

Figuring out who is the poorest among the world's hordes of have-nots is no simple task. Luckily, just prior to these same hearings, a ready-made human disaster of monumental proportions had surfaced. Somewhere in the middle of West Africa, in between where the Sahara desert ends and the tropical rain forests begin, was a cluster of countries suffering the most severe drought in recorded history. With feeble, agriculturally based economies, these African nations had no water for their crops. Their cattle were dying of thirst and their children of hunger, and AID would have to go a long way to find any poorer people. Each of the six countries in the drought area had been officially classed as among the world's least developed. Best of all, neither the United States, nor Russia, nor China had ever given them any assistance to speak of before.

Dusting the cobwebs from its West Africa specialists, AID discovered that the area was called the Sahel, composed of Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, and Chad. Few had heard of the place before 1973. Once AID got the Sahel ball rolling in mid-1973, it quickly became one of the biggest international relief operations in history. The objects of unprecedented publicity, the dead cows and camels, the emaciated nomads and children of West Africa, soon found their pictures on televisions and in newspapers and magazines throughout the world. Within two years the United States had given the Sahel more than $100 million of emergency food—more aid than it had received from us during the previous 13 years combined.

Voila!

AID's first move in marketing the Sahel was to capture the interest of Rep. Charles Diggs, then chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, a generous man whose state of Minnesota happens to supply much of the grain for the food relief program. *Voila.* A bill was sponsored requesting $30-million worth of emergency food shipments to the Sahel. "These people are good people," Humphrey declared in pressing for the June 1973 emergency appropriation. "They have been friends to the United States. The trouble is that sometimes when they are so nice and friendly, we do not do all we ought to do. They have not caused us any difficulty. They deserve our help."

In early June 1973, AID arranged for a CBS television news team to go aboard C-130 cargo planes dropping relief grain in Mali. This was just the beginning. An inter-agency memo from the period outlined additional press strategy, reporting that "coordination on all aspects of U. S. activities in response to the drought emergency is being maintained with USIA for dissemination through their overseas media channels . . . a picture/caption layout is now in the hands of the Associated Press Wirephoto Service. . . materials have been offered to members of Congress for insertion

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in the Congressional *Record* to stimulate attention. . . contact is being made with NBC-TV program to set up discussion of the drought disaster . . . discussions planned with 'Today' (NBC) and CBS Morning News for interview with AID and African officials . . . we are exploring a possible interview for CBS with Marvin Kalb . . . contact will be made with Washington feature programs."

Suddenly the American news media discovered Africa. Within weeks, dozens of reporters and camera crews were on their way to places like Timbuktu, Agadez, and Ouagadougou. In their wakes trailed members of Congress and their staffs on fact-finding expeditions; scientists, nutritionists, physicians, and engineers of infinite specialties. The Sahel was *in*. With pockets full of money and hearts throbbing in sympathy, representatives of a plethora of private clubs, agencies, and churches, "all the way down," remembers one long-time aid worker in Ouagadougou, "to the Tennessee Ladies Hospital auxiliary," were on their way to Africa.

Even those reporters who could spell Ouagadougou had a hard time pronouncing it (Wah-gah-doo-goo) when they got there. Before the drought, it was probably one of the two or three most obscure capitals in the world. A dust-covered heap of adobe huts encircling several square miles of square, squat public buildings, it is the largest city in Upper Volta, a nation about the size of Colorado and completely landlocked. Upper Volta epitomizes in many ways the problems that plague the Sahel. Between population expansion and currency inflation, it has suffered a negative economic growth rate since independence. The life expectancy of the average Voltaic (30-35 years) is the lowest in the world. Upper Volta holds the world records for the lowest percentage of literacy and of children in school—both five per cent—the smallest number of physicians per capita—one for every 75,000 of its

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**The Kirkus Reviews*

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nearly six million people—and has as high an infant mortality rate as anywhere in the world.

American diplomats in Ouagadougou joke, in the macabre way that foreign service personnel in hardship posts have a habit of doing, that Upper Volta may soon surpass first-place Burundi (coming in at $70) in the race for the world's lowest per capita yearly income, now that Burundi has lowered its population through a recent wave of tribal genocide.

Except for the few summer months each year when the rains come, living in Upper Volta is like living in the middle of a dust cloud. The air is hot, dry, and heavy and wraps around every living thing like a shroud. Like the aftermath of a continually recurring explosion, the dust seems to trickle ceaselessly down from the sky, so thick it dampers voices and limits visibility to about 100 yards. The Voltaic sky is rarely blue, but rather a dun color that renders indistinguishable the difference between air and earth. During winter and spring, the driest times, there is no real sunrise, only a gradual lightening, and around 10 a. m. a dull yellow disk appears through the dust. As it crawls across the sky its brightness is so obscured one can stare right into it, as if through smoked glass. Toward the end of the day it takes on the slightly blurred outline of an old silver coin and, long before it reaches the horizon, disappears into the murk.

Ninety-five per cent of Upper Volta's people live outside urban centers and most are miles from the nearest road. They are small village farmers who grow one crop of millet each year, or cattle-raising nomads who ceaselessly prod their herds through the dry savannah looking for pasture. After the drought began, and each year's dryness compounded the problems of the year before, the farming families were forced to move southward, toward the rain forests. The nomads, their cattle dead of thirst and hunger, ended up in refugee camps. The drought was a big deal in Upper Volta. But not that big. In a place where half the children die before they reach their fifth birthdays, it is difficult to tell where run-of-the-mill starvation leaves off and drought-induced famine begins.

This, then, is what the outside world discovered when the planes began landing at Ouagadougou airport. A people who didn't know the meaning of the words "emergency" and "disaster" and a government punch-drunk from years of just trying to get by. "I never felt that the Voltaic government saw the drought the way outsiders did," remembers a Peace Corps administrator who spent nearly three years there in the early seventies. "Times have always been hard in Upper Volta. The drought made things worse, but I often sensed in talking with various officials a 'this too will pass' attitude. Not that they weren't concerned, just that they didn't start weeping and gnashing their teeth the way so many foreigners did when they discovered the drought. I never felt a sense of urgency or disaster when discussing it with Voltaics. There was no grand vision of what to do about it. If you asked any Voltaic official where he wanted his ministry to be, or what his overall development plan was for the next X number of years, you'd get a polite stare."

Man Bites Dog

Never mind that it often had little to do with AID's promised drought, reporters arriving in the Sahel found a little bit of everything that makes for news stories: human suffering, local government incompetence and corruption, past and present U. S. ineptitude in attempting to help. People were quite obviously poor, many suffered from malnutrition, and there wasn't enough to eat. They had clearly been in bad shape long before word of their plight got out and emergency grain began to arrive. Some of the expected

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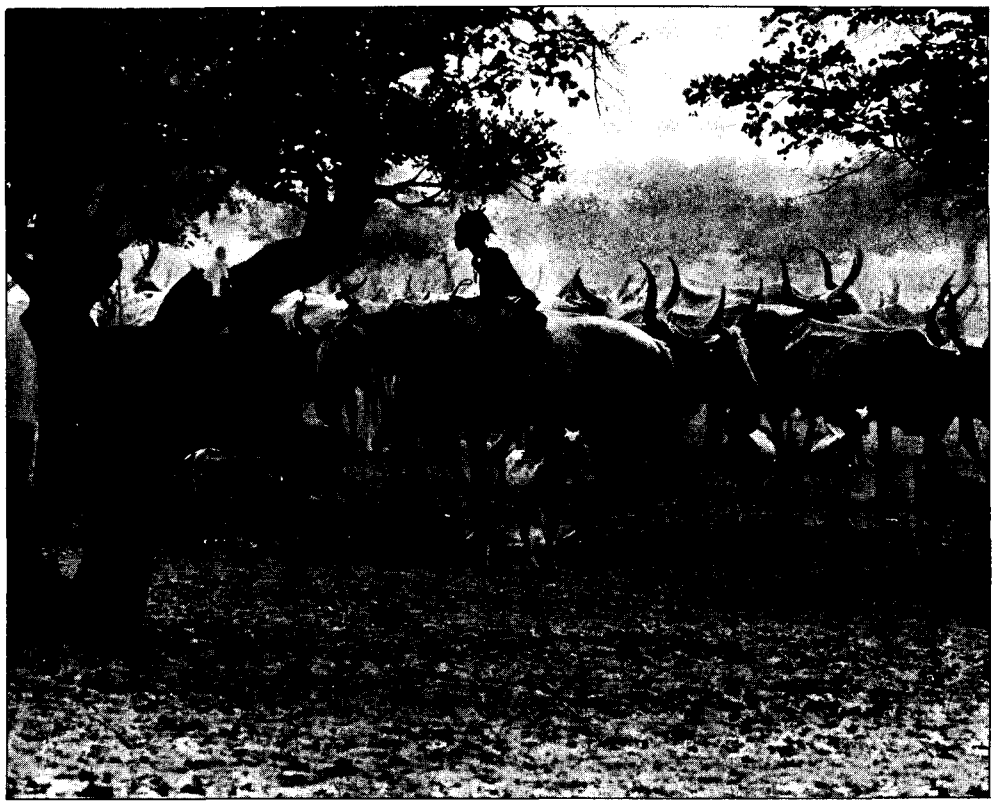

AID Photo

grain never arrived at all, ending up in dockyard stockpiles or sold for profit by greedy local officials.

Conflicting Reports

Virtually every newspaper and network in the U. S. ran lengthy Sahel stories beginning in the summer of 1973. A random sampling during a single week in June 1973 finds a *Washington Post* correspondent reporting on huge numbers of dead cattle; the Shawnee, Oklahoma *News-Star* editorializing that "10 million people are about to die " and pointing out the shamefulness of worrying about "political folderol such as Watergate" when so many were starving; *The New York Times* attesting that only six million were going to die—but probably all before October; the *Los Angeles Times* Africa reporter blaming African leaders for "making a botch of their economies."

The news reports were not always consistent. While Carl Rowan, in the *Washington Star*, was, upon returning from Africa, heatedly charging that the U. S. "goofed" in not being responsive to the urgent food needs of the Sahel, David Ottoway, in *The Washington Post*, was chastizing African officials for "not being interested in helping" their own people.

At times it seemed to aid workers who lived in the Sahel that the reporters had already written their stories before arriving in Africa and, once there, were in a big hurry to get out. A British private development program director tells of a Belgian TV crew that persuaded airplane pilots, dropping bagged relief grain to villages inaccessible from the ground, to drop bags of a type guaranteed to burst upon impact. They wanted to film bush women picking kernels of grain out of the dust and thus to demonstrate how relief efforts were screwed up.

"Most of the stories I read about the drought were sensationalism," says the Peace Corps administrator.

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"It was discouraging because the development problems are so complex and subtle, and all of a sudden you couldn't turn around without bumping into some jerk who wanted pictures of people eating sand or of dead cattle. *Time* published a photo of a woman in a tree picking leaves and captioned it as if this was what she was reduced to eating because of the drought. In fact, people eat the leaves anyway and cook special sauces to go with them."

Official Visitors

One of the biggest problems involved in convincing official visitors on whistle-stop drought tours that the Sahel needed help was that the worst evidences of famine weren't close enough to the airport. There are stories of village chiefs, anxious to get a share of the relief, who made a practice of having all animal carcasses in the vicinity dragged to the nearest road, the better to be photographed.

"Once," the Peace Corpsman recalls, "Senator Javits was in Abidjan [Ivory Coast] at a conference, and he wanted to see the drought, so he came to Ouagadougou for *20* hours." All the refugee camps in Upper Volta were far north of the capital, and "there was no time to go that far during his visit, so they took him out to a house outside of town and showed him a lot of sick old people, quite unrelated to the drought. I told someone that his visit was a waste of time and they said, 'Look, now he can go back to Congress and talk about the suffering he has seen in Africa, and how important it is to pass the drought appropriation, and his vivid appeal might influence some other senators.' I guess that's the way it goes."

Senator John Sparkman flew over the Sahel during the drought, on a commercial flight from Abidjan to Paris. He noted sympathetically in a recent Senate hearing that, "[I]t was a pitiful sight seeing all the dead animals on the ground. Having seen it," Sparkman said, "I can never forget how terrible it was."

The Sahel drought is now over, but the generosity lingers on. This year for the first time, AID has included in its regular proposal to Congress a section exclusively devoted to "The Sahel and Central West Africa," asking for $26 million to begin 20 to 30 years of development projects designed to make the desert bloom.

While in dollar terms the money proposed for the Sahel is a drop in the bucket compared to what AID spent in Southest Asia, the scope of development proposed for the area is the most ambitious ever envisioned. It includes complete reorganization of the agricultural economy from chronic importer to healthy exporter of grains and livestock; the elimination of endemic disease, along with implementation of an extended public health program; and a restructuring of social order, which AID says has been made unavoidable by the economic ravages of the drought.

"AID Saves The Sahel," is one possible description of the transformation of the Sahelian people from total nonentities to the darlings of the aid community. "The Sahel Saves AID," would be equally accurate.

Unlike earthquakes and floods, droughts don't just happen overnight. Although 1973 found AID in need of a tragedy on which to demonstrate its humanitarianism, the people at the edge of the Sahara had already been dying of thirst for nearly five years by the time the world got around to noticing them. And the nations of the Sahel were doomed to end up as LDCs—development jargon for "Least Developed Countries"—long before 1968, when the rains first began to slack.

Before the Drought

Fifteen years ago, soon after it first became unfashionable among Western nations to maintain overseas colonies, France decided to give up French West Africa. Suddenly, during the

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summer of 1960, the metropole teat was abruptly yanked from the mouths of every African colony, and they were left infant nations alone—alone with an antediluvian monetary system called the franc zone that benefited no one but France, a stone-age agricultural economy, and a handful of black, Francophile bureaucrats and minor military demagogues with empty treasuries, holding court over millions of illiterate and isolated peasants.

And there they remained. A few—Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Gabon—have managed to keep their heads above water, thanks to good climate and soil, developed ports, and a few natural resources. But most went through the inevitable progression from infant democracy, through autocratic one-party rule, to military coup and dictatorship, and, for the nations of the Sahel at least, an endless fall into an ever-deepening pit of poverty, trade deficits, and hunger. The rest of the globe was concerned with more pressing matters. Granted, nobody owed them a living. Although virtually every developed nation in the world was involved in foreign aid by the early sixties, most handouts were given on the basis of the "less eligibility" principle: the less a poor country had in terms of natural resources and strategic possibilities, the less aid it got.

In Search of Horatio Alger

U.S. policy in the area had gone from initial interest shortly after independence, through near total disregard of the entire continent, to the "emphasis" country period, beginning in the mid-sixties, when aid was directed to the ten African countries deemed most likely to succeed. The nations of the Sahel, needless to say, were not on anyone's list of potential Horatio Alger stories. French businessmen, moreover, had a good thing going in the former colonies, and actively discouraged outside intervention. As most international aid donors followed the U.S. flow of money, the Sahelian countries expended most of their energies just trying to find an air hole through the load of Saharan sand that was sifting in over their heads. By the time the Great Drought arrived, the decline in the quality of life was only one of degree.

Whether you choose to believe that the government acted in response to public concern, or that public concern was created and manipulated by the government, Americans eventually were informed that something was seriously wrong in the Sahel, and we acted. During 1973 and 1974 Congress appropriated more than $100 million for food to keep the people of West Africa from starving to death. Appalled by words and pictures depicting the Sahelian tragedy, Americans dug into their pockets and paid their dues. Not all of the food traveled directly from American docks to the mouths of famine-stricken nomads. Ineptitude, corruption, and confusion were present on both sides of the

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The Case Against Direct Election of the President

A Defense of the Electoral College

By JUDITH BEST. One firm vote of confidence is cast here for our present system of electing the president. Describing the electoral system within the context of American government and politics, Ms. Best asserts that its faults—great as they may be—are far outweighed by its virtues, and she explains point by point her reasons for rejecting various criticisms made by proponents of direct election. "Intriguing . . . lively and concrete." —*Kirkus Reviews* $9.95

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Atlantic during the emergency relief effort. But most of the people got fed, and most of them survived.

The question, of course, is what now. Congress has requested, and AID has supplied, a long-term plan representing a new commitment to the world's marginal men, a plan that promises not only to protect against drought-induced famine, but to boost the Sahelian economy to a permanently respectable level. Based on millions of dollars worth of expert studies compiled over the past two years, AID proposes three decades of river basin and irrigation programs; range management and livestock development; grain production and marketing improvements; family planning, public health, and educational programs. The technology will range from ox-drawn plows to the use of satellite sensors to determine water sources and pasturage capabilities. Humanitarianism as a marketing strategy has settled in for another season.

Judging by past performance, it is doubtful AID can pull it off. In the first place, AID's marketing strategies seem to have that built-in obsolescence, and 20 to 30 years is a long time to expect the priorities and sympathies of Congress and the American public to flow with any degree of continuity. Pure humanitarianism is already starting to be passe. Next year, if our own economic situation doesn't look brighter, we may be ardent isolationists, and who can say, looking at where we were 10 years ago, that 10 years in the future won't find us more interested in colonizing Mars than in promoting self-sufficiency in West Africa.

What AID Cannot Do

But even if we can commit our attention and conscience several decades into the future, we have no reason to believe AID is capable of carrying out the kind of revolutionary development program West Africa is going to need. AID is above all—by mandate, organization, and operation—a very large and centralized bureaucracy. As in all bureaucracies, AID personnel are selected and assigned primarily on the basis of how well they contribute, not necessarily to the end product, but to the smooth-running perpetuation of the organization. Each little cog in the massive machine is answerable only to the next biggest wheel above him. And this, say many non-AID development experts, is not any way to run an effective program in a place like the Sahel.

Development starts at the bottom, out in the bush, in the smallest, dustiest Sahelian village. For a development worker to understand what the farmer needs and is capable of absorbing, he must be willing to live like the farmer, sweat like him, and work like him for as long as it takes to effect a change for the better.

The Sahel is not a pleasant place for an American to live. It is blazingly, chokingly hot and dirty. The food is dull and the people, by the standards of Western social interaction, are even duller. Few foreigners with the requisite education and expertise, earning the salaries such qualifications command, are willing to make the sacrifices. For AID directors in the field, many of whom have accepted stations in African "hardship" posts as the bottom rung on a ladder to bigger and better things, the attractions of spending the day in an air-conditioned office in the capital begin very quickly to win out over the discomfort of a stint in the bush.

Segregation

U.S. government personnel are thick as flies these days in Ouagadougou. But, except for Peace Corps volunteers, they are rare animals in the bush. In the capital city, they do their best to overcome their hardships; and an impartial observer, not to mention the indigenous African, would be hard-put to find much difference between colonial divisions of 20 years ago and post-colonial

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Jacob Javits and Hubert Humphrey with Lami Zura, president of Upper Volta, in Ouagadougou.

segregation today. Whites, predominately French and American, drive the cars in Ouagadougou; blacks ride the bicycles, donkey carts and motor bikes. While a black eating dinner in one of the city's several expensive continental-style restaurant gardens probably wouldn't cause a stir, it just doesn't happen very often.

Ouagadougou's main marketplace is as bustling as any in Africa, but, considering the number of whites in town, it is rare to see them there. Usually they send one of the two or three houseboys that every foreign government official seems to employ, or shop themselves in one of two modern supermarkets stocked exclusively with imported goods, where a small can of instant coffee costs the equivalent of several dollars. The special white butter bread the French bakery makes on Saturday morning sells out each week to foreigners at 950 CFA (African Financial Community) francs a loaf—about five dollars.

There is a white man sitting at the biggest desk in every bank, ringing the cash register in nearly every pharmacy and retail store. But most of the whites are in Ouagadougou because they work on foreign development projects or in the embassies. They socialize almost exclusively with each other, forming a tiny incestuous community with all attendant gossip and intrigues, and entertain each other at an endless round of dinner and cocktail parties.

Twice weekly, the American embassy shows American movies. Admittance is ostensibly limited to U.S. government personnel only; in reality one need only be white to be admitted without identification, and each audience contains a good percentage of passers-by, itinerant travelers, hangers-on, and Europeans. The movies are held outside on the embassy lawn. Scores of Africans line up along the fence, craning for a view of the screen and listening for a snatch of movie dialogue in a language they can't understand.

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Francois Gourier, a French doctor who has lived in the West African bush for three years now, says anyone who hasn't lived in the villages for at least a year has no business planning programs for the villagers. "It is only through big problems like the drought that we can see the lack of aid coordination that has gone on here for 50 years. Yet, even now it's the same. They [the donors] don't understand it's not a change in their own attitudes that is required, a change that results in more money and more projects—but a change in the attitude of one farmer, in one hut, in one village."

Even with the most dedicated field workers, however, it is difficult to imagine anything significant being accomplished within the AID framework. "The AID people I met worked very hard to please their constituency," recalls the Peace Corps administrator. "Unfortunately, by the nature of the system, their constituency was AID in Washington, not the African governments or African farmers. There is this long line of people looking over their shoulders: the AID field man trying to please his headquarters, which is trying to please the White House and the congressional appropriations committees, which are trying to protect themselves from their constituents who say, 'We gave the ungrateful wretches X million dollars and they voted against us in the U.N.'

"This cover-your-ass syndrome paralyzes the field man from effectively programming. He is subject to the whims of Washington. One year the big policy is regional programming—no country-by-country assistance—and the next year it is birth control, which will singlehandedly cure all our problems. Now, I take it, the angle is helping the world's forgotten, marginal men. You can't hope to meet the Sahel's needs over a period of years with all of those changes."

AID says its new proposals are based on intensive field studies which have pinpointed the needs and capacities of the Sahelian people. But this critic argues, "It's a waste of time. AID is big on sending out teams of 'experts' with impeccable credentials to do an 'intensive' two-week study and then write up a three year, multimillion dollar program. It cannot be done meaningfully, no matter how brilliant the team. They overwhelm local officials, often ask the wrong questions, and end up with the highly suspect answers."

Rules of the Game

Back in Washington, where the highest-level AID derrieres are covered, it probably will make little difference whether or not humanitarianism succeeds in the Sahel. Since Congress keeps changing the rules, the name of the aid game is not justifying past losses, but keeping up with the changing rules. AID knows as well as any Madison Avenue neophyte that the *sine qua non* of any successful marketing strategy is to convince the consumer that the product in question, however familiar it may appear, is really "new-new-new!" Thus, the 1974 AID funding proposal promised to "launch a major reform effort," which would result in a "new" program. President Nixon's first foreign aid presentation to Congress in 1969 guaranteed "a reappraisal of the U. S. foreign assistance program," followed by a "fresh approach" to foreign aid. The same gambit worked for AID under President Kennedy, and even for its predecessor organization under Truman.

The technique probably will work this year. "The food, population and energy crises," reads the 1976 AID proposal, "reaffirm the urgency and thrust of the new directions of our development assistance program."

The "urgency" is on the word "new." As long as humanitarianism remains in vogue, the Sahel will remain a marketable commodity. Whether or not anyone will remember 10 years hence that such a place exists is another question. ■

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...the magazine **The New York Times** calls "indispensable" and **Time** calls "must reading." It's The Washington Monthly, which was the first magazine to reveal the political contributions of the dairy lobby, the first to tell of the United Mine Workers' betrayal of its members. The first to expose how the Army spied on civilian politics, in an article that won two of journalism's most distinguished awards.

It was the first to reveal the Nixon impoundments, the first to report why Congress didn't investigate Watergate until after the election, and in so doing became the only monthly magazine to do original reporting about Watergate. In an article that won yet another award, it told "Why the White House Press Didn't Get the Watergate Story."

Our "Work in America" series began before **The Atlantic**'s. Our article on the dangers of nuclear hijacking was a year ahead of **The New Yorker**'s. And our case against social security was made two years before **Harper's**.

The Washington Monthly not only tells you what is going wrong, it tells you why—sometimes beforehand. We explored the problems of Watergate in 1971 with "The Prince and his Courtiers at the White House, the Kremlin, and the Reichschancellery."

When **Sam Brown** analyzed the failures of the peace movement, **The New York Times** said "fascinating," and syndicated columnist **David Broder** wrote that the article "deserves to be read in full and pondered by everyone."

Like so many Washington Monthly authors, **Sam Brown** wrote from the perspective of the insider. **Robert Benson** and **Ernest Fitzgerald** knew where the Pentagon was wasting money because they had worked there. **Albert Gore** could describe what happens in a congressional conference committee because he had served on hundreds of them.

The Washington Monthly was the first to publish important young writers like **Taylor Branch**, **Suzannah Lessard**, and **James Fallows**. They are joined by leading political scholars. The Washington Monthly published **James David Barber**'s historic analysis of the character of Richard Nixon, **Thomas Cronin**'s important essay on "The Textbook Presidency," and **Graham Allison**'s article on the Kennedy brothers and the Cuban missile crisis.

Our conclusions are often unorthodox because we know too many of the old answers have failed. The Washington Monthly questioned the Civil Service tenure system and the high salaries in government. It examined **Daniel Ellsberg**, but in the light of Otto Otepka, the conservative Ellsberg whom most liberals had either forgotten or condemned.

I.F. Stone says "it's outstanding and doesn't go in for half-assed hysterics." According to **Nicholas von Hoffman**, it "does its specialty—government and politics—better than any other magazine around."

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Tidbits and Outrages

Rubber Stamps

As the cost of the food stamp program grows, it is coming under increasing criticism from right and left. But imitations also continue to flower. For example, a spokesman for a garment workers union recently proposed that the poor be issued "clothing stamps" because their self-images were being eroded by having to wear hand-me-downs. Bob Wyrick of *Newsday* has now discovered that the federal government has spent about $100,000 mailing letters to teenage boys offering them discount stamps good for a dollar off on the purchase of a dozen condoms.

Assuming that cost was the only reason young men did not use prophylactics as protection against venereal disease, someone in OEO back in 1971 dreamed up the idea of condom stamps. The program never really got off the ground, but it was tested extensively in Cleveland and Philadelphia.

In both cities the stamps were mailed to a list of boys believed by the local community action agency to be "sexually active." The Wyrick story gives no details on how such a list was assembled.

The boys on the "sexually active" list were subjects for what direct-mail professionals call a "test mailing" of the condom offer. The idea is to see what kind of response you get from a representative sample before sending mailings to a larger group. In this case the test mailing was a failure. After 43,000 letters were mailed, only 254 condom stamps were ever redeemed, despite extensive efforts which persuaded hundreds of drug stores to participate in the program.

The cost worked out to more than $30 for every condom purchase. And this does not count the cost to the Postal Service of handling several parents' complaints that their sons were receiving obscene mail from the government.

Incidentally, now that the government is into the direct-mail game, it could probably earn back that $100,000 by licensing those 43,000 names to a list broker for sale to other direct-mail advertisers and political groups. It might be the most profitable list since that jealously guarded compilation of 1972 McGovern contributors.

Now Let's Gear Up for Inhuman Cruelty Day

The final police report on Human Kindness Day, which was celebrated in May at the Washington Monument, states that there were 637 complaints arising from the happy occasion, of which 598 were robberies, larcenies, or assaults.

Selfless Idealism

Stuart Auerbach of *The Washington Post* has come up with more evidence of the selfless idealism of our doctors and dentists:

Medical and dental students have told Congress they strongly object to a bill that would force them to pay back some of the federal funds given their schools to pay for their education.

Although doctors and dentists are among the nation's highest paid professionals—doctors earn an average income after expenses of $52,000 a year, dentists net $37,500—and are the only professionals to receive direct federal subsidies for their education, the students said they could not afford the added $8,000 debt the new law would entail.

A third-year dental student at the University of California at Los Angeles, Jeffrey White, promised that "any sum of money which I as a dentist must pay the federal (government) after graduation will ultimately be paid for by my patients."

Another dental student, Gerald Shinkawa of San Francisco, complained that he would have "the problem" of passing "the costs to the patients" and then justifying them to dental insurance companies.

"There is no room in my economy," he continued, "for the demands this bill is trying to force upon me."

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Lawsuit of the Month

The dim prospects for reform of our system of higher education brightened last month when Veronika Nicolas' suit against George Washington University resulted in the refund of her tuition for a course she depicted as "a piece of junk." She said that it had taught her little more than "how to trace somebody else's blueprints." The notion that courses have an obligation to teach something will, of course, be novel to many of our institutions of higher learning—and could be quite bracing in the short term. In the long term, however, we're confident that the professors and the insurance companies (the incompetent professional's best friend) will come up with some kind of educational malpractice insurance and when the extent of their ineptitude is made clear by a flood of claims that threaten the insurance companies, the educators will follow the doctors' example and pressure the government to insure the insurers.

The American Dream

Our favorite among this year's commencement speeches was made at Vassar by Art Buchwald. Here's a paragraph:

In any case, I'm thrilled you would ask me because you have made a dream come true for me. When I was a boy growing up in New York City, Vassar's image was a little different than it is today. In those days Vassar girls wore Angora sweaters, plaid skirts, silk sockings and high-heeled shoes. And I'd see them at the Biltmore Hotel on the arms of tall bronzed jocks from Harvard, Yale and Princeton, and I used to sit there in the lobby fantasizing that one of those Scarsdale goddesses would get into a fight with her Ivy League boy-friend and throw her gardenia corsage into his face. And then she would come up to me and ask me to take her to the Stork Club—with her money. And her name was Mary Ann and we would fall in love and then she would tell me that we could never get married because of our religions—she was rich and I was poor. Years would go by, in my fantasy, and finally one day she would come back to Poughkeepsie with her banker husband for the graduation of her daughter, and I would be standing at the podium addressing the 116th commencement of Vassar College, and she would be sitting out there in the audience looking at her dull husband, and say to herself, "Arthur, why couldn't I have waited for you?"

Man Bites Hot Dog?

Press coverage of American space efforts has been a competition in mindlessness in which the early leader was *Life*, replaced since its demise by Walter Cronkite. We now nominate a new champion: *The New York Times*:

M 20 CENTS

TE SHIPS
NDSHAKES

'GLAD TO SEE YOU'

Crewmen Eat Lunch —
Brezhnev and Ford
Praise Link-Up

Garbage In, Garbage Out, Garbage Back in Again

This month's story of life in the federal bureaucracy comes to us from the pages of the *Washington Star*. It involves five lower-level employees of the Federal Energy Administration who were left unsatisfied by the federal government's exceedingly liberal vacation and over-time policies. Somehow they learned how to falsify computer records and arranged to give themselves extra vacation days and over-time pay for work they had never done. One employee was even able to program the FEA's computer so that it produced a W-2 form for the IRS which both understated his earnings and exaggerated his income tax withholding. Somehow, in late 1974, the FEA caught on to these computer whizzes, but justice didn't exactly trimuph. Since it is rather difficult to fire anyone in the federal government, regardless of circumstances, the FEA merely suspended them pending further investigation. It took just one day for the agency to realize "that it literally could not meet its payroll later that week without the computer expertise of the five employees it had just suspended. So with a somewhat red face, FEA called them back to duty." The FEA even gave them administrative leave with pay for the day they were suspended. "Not only that," notes the *Star*, but "the five are still on duty."

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State Government All-Stars

by Richard Hall

Since he resigned as Pennsylvania's state insurance commissioner in early 1974, Herb Denenberg has had a difficult time returning to public office. He tried to win the Democratic nomination for U.S. senator last year but lost the primary to Pete Flaherty, the mayor of Pittsburgh (see *The Washington Monthly*, July/August 1974). Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp attempted to appoint him to the Public Utilities Commission, but the nomination was blocked by the state senate, still bitter over Denenberg's criticism of it when he was insurance commissioner. Early this year, Denenberg made it clear to the new Democratic governors in California and New York that he was willing to travel in return for the right job, but these efforts led nowhere.

Despite the eclipse of his own career, Herb Denenberg's legacy to state government is thriving. Far more important than the specifics of his battles with the insurance industry is the sense of possibility which he brought to state government. Since the days of the New Deal, liberals have either mistrusted or ridiculed state government. The criticisms generally involved one of two themes—either those in state government were corrupt or they were reactionaries. And in some Southern states they were both. Even when a governor briefly caught the attention of the national press, those serving under him were still generally considered to be mediocrities. (The press' taste in governors was always erratic; it's hard to believe that in the late 1950s "Soapy" Williams of Michigan, Robert Meyner of New Jersey, and Nelson Rockefeller were thought to be our leading governors.)

These days state government is again becoming fashionable. The efforts of the Nixon Administration to decentralize the Great Society have given governors control over large portions of federal spending in their states. The press, taking their lead from David Broder of *The Washington Post*, discovered such governors as Reuben Askew of Florida, Daniel

Richard Hall is an editor of this issue of The Washington Monthly.

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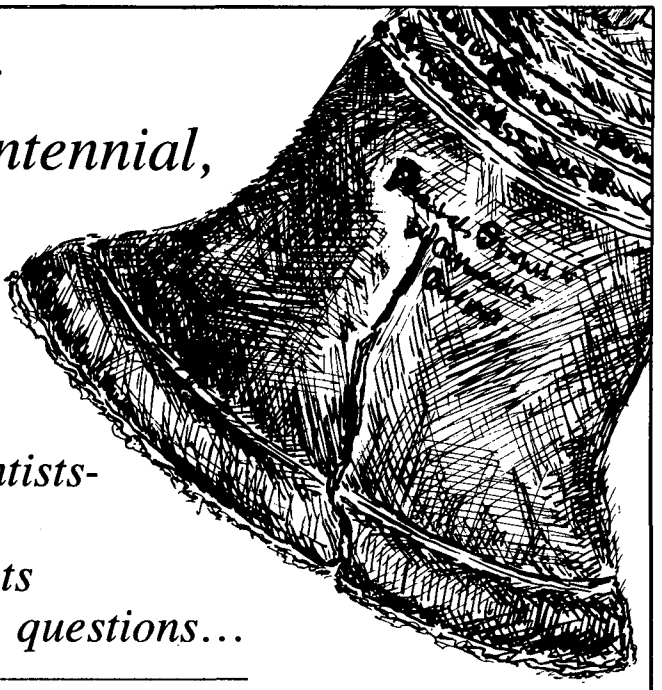
In the year of the Bicentennial, a dynamic combination of authors, scholars-practicing political scientists-educators — probe these sets of provocative questions...



1. **Is the American governmental system today participatory, representative, responsible?** How responsive are today's political agencies (developed from diametrically opposed ideological bases) to fast-moving, changes in public attitudes and moods?

2. **Could a Constitution written in the eighteenth century still be serviceable in the twentieth?** What new constitutional processes might be required in this wake of fundamental economic, social, intellectual, organizational, and military changes?

3. **Is our constitutional and political system a "government by the people," or is it but a facade behind which elite groups really run America?**

Text: 1975, 960 pp., $11.95 Teacher's Manual/Test Items/ Study Guides available.
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GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE
9th Edition, 1975

James Mac Gregor Burns, *Williams College*
J. W. Peltason, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*
Thomas E. Cronin, *Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and the University of California, Santa Barbara*

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Evans of Washington, and Dale Bumpers of Arkansas (now a U.S. senator). But it wasn't until Herb Denenberg burst on the public scene in 1972 and 1973 that anyone realized it was possible to be creative and effective in little-known state offices as well.

Sam Brown's race last fall for state treasurer of Colorado symbolized this changed attitude. Brown, one of the leaders of the antiwar movement, shares a common background with many of the new congressional freshmen. But instead of asking the voters to send him to Washington, Brown campaigned for a traditionally minor state post. In an interview with the *Village Voice* before his election, Brown made clear that he understood the difference between legislative and administrative power: "I spent the last year studying the state budget and state laws, trying to see where power really lies in Colorado. . . and I finally hit on state treasurer. Here was an office that has been virtually ignored for years; yet, the treasurer has incredible powers which, if wielded conscientiously, could benefit communities and people all over the state."

Although still far from typical, Brown and Denenberg are not entirely unique as state officeholders. A recent conference in Madison, Wisconsin, on radical innovations in state and local government, sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies, drew an encouraging crowd of state-level reformers. But even the best state officials generally labor in obscurity. The problem is rooted in the size and the diversity of the country. It is hard to become a national celebrity when you work in Albany, Sacramento, Springfield or Harrisburg. When a state official does attract national attention it is generally a tribute to his showmanship rather than a reward for tangible accomplishment. (Denenberg managed to combine both: his "Shopper's Guides" to insurance were not only an aid to the public, but made good newspaper copy, as well.)

As a small effort to remedy this lack of coverage, we at *The Washington Monthly* propose an All Star Team—a *Who's Who* of the best in state government. For a variety of state posts, ranging from lieutenant governor to state corrections commissioner, we have tried to single out an official who illustrates that state government does not always have to be political backwater.

We have not chosen a governor. Ironically, the young governors who seemed the most promising, such as California's Jerry Brown, Massachusetts' Michael Dukakis, and Illinois' Daniel Walker, often are found to be locking horns with their more daring subordinates. Reformers like Jim Lorenz (Employment Development) and Erik Hirst (Energy Commission) in California, and Denis Hayes (Energy Director) in Illinois have been forced to leave office because they were out of step with their suprisingly fiscal-minded top executives. The real revolution in state government seems to come from the bottom up to, but not including, the favorite son.

Lieutenant Governor:
Martin Schreiber, Wisconsin

Shall we say that it is not the most demanding job in state government? The nation's best-known lieutenant governor is Mary Anne Krupsack of New York, but that is almost entirely because of her symbolic importance to the women's movement. Schreiber has developed an ingenious method of transforming his largely ceremonial post into something far more substantive. He supports his office (which has mushroomed from two to 27 employees since his election in 1970) and provides work for it by hustling grants from the federal government and from foundations. Schreiber's first grant was for a 1971 HEW pilot study to set up an ombudsman program for residents of nursing homes. Since then Schreiber has also received a $333,000 grant from the Kellogg Foundation to develop and test a system of providing home-based care for the elderly as an alternative to institutionalization.

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Attorney General: John Hill, Texas

Given the conservative political cast of the state, it would be easy to envision the Texas attorney general leading well-publicized crusades against subversives, pornography, and marijuana. Although formerly a highly successful Houston malpractice lawyer, Hill has departed from the narrow traditions of Texas government. His major accomplishment is the passage of the Texas Open Records Act, which is one of the broadest and most rigourously enforced freedom-of-information statutes in the country. Hill retains some ties to the John Connally wing of Texas politics, but he has not shied away from battles with Southwestern Bell and other leading utilities. He successfully blocked a telephone rate increase, getting a ruling from the state supreme court in the process that the attorney general has the power to challenge all future changes in utility rates.

Secretary of State: Richard Austin, Michigan

In state government, the secretary of state is not a promising office for would-be activists. After all, if you want to save the world, it is a little annoying to have to distribute millions of license plates each year. Richard Austin's job involves few questions of high policy. But he has become a master at taking the things every government must do and making them painless. The reforms seem small, such as authorizing the state to do business by check and allowing the sale of license plates by mail, but the effect has been to save the citizen time and aggravation in his dealings with the bureaucratic side of state government.

At least one of Austin's mechanical reforms has broader political implications. Post-card voter registration, which is a boon to the Democratic party, has been emulated already by other Democratic secretaries of state.

State Treasurer: Sam Brown, Colorado

During his campaign last fall, Sam Brown argued that it was wrong for the state of Colorado to deposit 70 per cent of its cash in just five large banks in Denver. Brown pledged to use his office to ensure that the state would instead transfer funds to small-town banks. This infusion of state funds would stimulate lending for mortgages and small business loans loans.

Many of Brown's efforts since he took office have been stymied by a recalcitrant state legislature. In May the legislature blocked one of Brown's major bills, which would have set up a state version of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, thereby eliminating fear of bank failure as an argument against Colorado depositing state funds in small banks. "The one

Public Work, Public Workers

by Ralph J. Flynn

". . . an eloquent statement of the rationale for granting parity to public workers in the area of collective bargaining."

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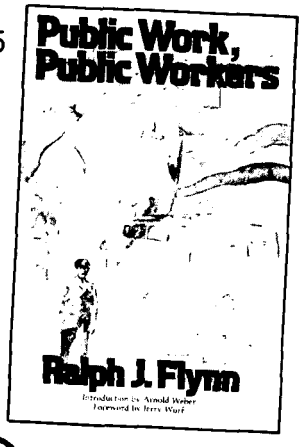

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thing [this bill] did for me," Brown says, "was convince me not to give the legislature a candid budget next year. I'm going to bury everything I can and fund as many programs as I can with soft dollars."

Superintendent of Public Instruction: Wilson Riles, California

Riles is the man who defeated arch-conservative Max Rafferty for administrator of California's vast school system. As superintendent, Riles has been willing to tangle with the powerful teachers' unions. For example, Riles has made no secret of his belief that the practice of tenure should be curtailed. (Riles once actually proposed abolition, but quickly backed down in face of union objections.) Riles has been a firm supporter of the California Supreme Court's *Serrano* decision, which ordered that disparities in funding between school districts be eliminated. Riles' major accomplishment has been the development of an Early Childhood Education Program, serving about one-third of the state's elementary school pupils below fourth grade. The goal of the program has been to reduce adult-child ratios in the classroom from 25:1 to 10:1 through the imaginative use of paraprofessionals and teacher aides. Although it is notoriously difficult to measure the success of educational programs, ECE seems to have been a significant factor in raising the test scores of those who participated.

Tax Commissioner: Byron Dorgan, North Dakota

Byron Dorgan is the only elected tax commissioner in the nation, and as such he enjoys unique independence in the state government. Appointed to fill a vacancy in 1969, Dorgan unleashed a team of four auditors on the books of multi-state corporations operating in North Dakota. They raised corporate tax revenues by 33 per cent—largely by discovering that corporations claimed in other states that they made their money in North Dakota and argued just the opposite in North Dakota itself. Dorgan's tax work has accounted for a 50-percent increase in the number of returns filed in a state that is actually losing population. Dorgan has served two terms as chairman of the Multi-State Tax Commission, an organization of 23 member states and 15 affiliates that cooperates on corporate auditing across state lines.

Transportation Commissioner: Langhorne Bond, Illinois

Langhorne Bond of Illinois runs the largest highway program in the country. Anyone with that kind of power in that state must know how to play politics, and Bond does. "He's a tremendous political animal," says former Illinois Energy Coordinator Denis Hayes. "Langhorne orchestrates legislation well. He might build some small things he doesn't want in order to get others he does want." Which doesn't mean he is a pushover. On the contrary, Bond recently blocked Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's dream of a cross-town expressway.

Bond, like Massachusetts' Fred Salvucci, is that unusual breed—a transportation commissioner who is not obsessed with highways. He likes solving mass transit problems with gadgets—double-decker buses and elongated buses that bend in the middle to negotiate narrow city turns—and he is also working hard to preserve Chicago's extensive rapid-transit system.

Some of Bond's interest in innovation may be attributable to the presence on his staff of such anti-highway advocates as former public-interest lobbyist John Kramer. One of Bond's strengths is his understanding of federal programs, which comes from having worked in Washington as a special assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Transportation.

Corrections Commissioner: Kenneth Schoen, Minnesota

A major function of state government is to run prison systems. During

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an era when crime is a major social issue, a corrections commissioner could win easy headlines with a policy of "getting tough" with prisoners. Kenneth Schoen is not this kind of prison administrator. He has begun an intelligent program of de-emphasizing incarceration. Under Schoen, Minnesota's prison population has decreased significantly, and the state's maximum security prison will close in 1977. (Dangerous prisoners will be housed in maximum security facilities in other prisons.)

Among the reforms which Schoen guided through the state legislature were a system of cost incentives to encourage local governments to place offenders in rehabilitation programs rather than in prisons, parole arrangements which take much of the arbitrariness out of the system, and pre-trial rehabilitation programs for first offenders.

Health Commissioner:
Dr. Tony Robbins, Vermont

Vermont is, of course, a small state, but Robbins is the country's only health commissioner whose job includes monitoring a nuclear power plant. All the rest are inspected by the federal government. He takes this job seriously, challenging Yankee Electric, which owns the plant, on a number of safety issues. Robbins claims that gamma rays from the plant affect nearby buildings and demands that the company build a protective wall. Yankee Electric contends that such a wall would be prohibitively expensive and threatens a rate increase in a state where electric costs are already sky-high. That's where the matter stands, with Robbins showing no signs of backing down.

Robbins also aroused controversy with the selection of Chicago Seven defendant John Froines as occupational safety and health director. Froines has set up a statewide study to determine the relationship between pharmaceuticals and bladder cancer. Robbins also administers the state's food programs for the poor. Although

we bring them all together

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Vermont is one of the few states without a food-stamp program, Robbins has otherwise tried to humanize surplus food distribution by using milk men (yes, they still have them in Vermont) to deliver state food on a house-to-house basis to those who need it.

State Utilities Commissioner: Donald Brazier, Washington

State utilities commissions have long seen their job as one of automatically approving power company policies. But the last two years have witnessed the gradual emergence of the consumer's viewpoint on utility questions and even a couple of minor victories.

Donald Brazier, chairman of Washington's Public Utilities Commission, is typical of this new breed of regulator. When utility companies proposed a restructuring of rates that would have boosted electricity prices by one-third. Brazier went on television to call it a "consumer rip-off." He publically vowed to resign if the law went on the books. The rate restructuring passed the legislature, but Governor Dan Evans vetoed the measure to prevent Brazier's resignation. Brazier also has taken a hard line against the spread of nuclear power plants in his state.

Another regulator worth mentioning is Jim Ziegler of Alabama. Although generally a lone voice on the utilities commission, Ziegler did get Alabama to review a rate increase for the first time in history. His major proposal is "life-line" rates, which would guarantee electricity for the poor.

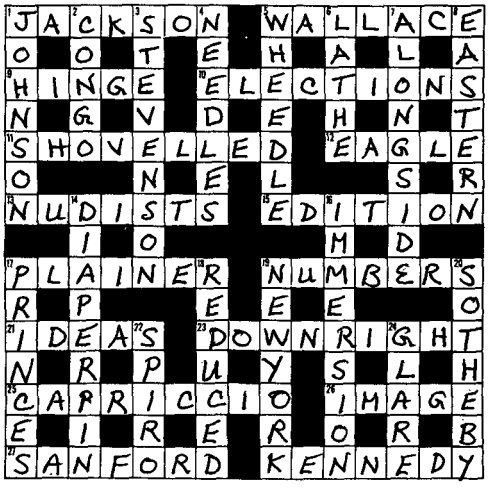
Agriculture Commissioner: Jim McHale, Pennsylvania

There is nothing even slightly expedient about Jim McHale's policies as Pennsylvania's secretary of agriculture. You can always tell a man by his enemies, and McHale has many, starting with Earl Butz and the National Farm Bureau. An activist farmer, McHale is virtually the only state agriculture director whose primary orientation is toward the family farm. As a result, pressure from agribusiness interests led the state legislature in July to vote against his confirmation for another one-year term in 1976. (Governor Milton Shapp will try to get that decision reviewed before the end of the year.)

These pressures haven't stopped McHale from trying to save the small farmer. McHale's department has supported cooperative markets, where the farmer and consumer deal directly with each other, and has tried to get the land-grant colleges to research the problems of the small farmer rather than just the concerns of agribusiness. Realizing the limitations of his power, McHale has followed Denenberg's model—traveling and testifying—but unfortunately he is tackling a more difficult problem.

Political scientists used to hold a great strength of the federal system to be that state governments could act as laboratories of democracy, testing ideas which, if successful, could be copied on a national level. With the growth of national power in Washington, little has been heard on this theme in recent years. Now that disenchantment on all sides with the possibilities of federal initiatives is well-nigh complete, it is time for another look at the states. ■

Answers to the July/August puzzle:



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Memo of the Month

FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20461

APR 14 1975

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR

MEMORANDUM FOR: FEA Senior Staff

SUBJECT: Executive Position Titles

In the past few weeks the number of titles available to important FEA personnel has been drastically reduced. It is also understood that OMB will shortly place a freeze on the proliferation of FEA titles. In the interest of maintaining staff morale, it has been decided to make the remaining titles available on a limited basis for the next two weeks. Written requests and justifications for the remaining titles should be filed with the Deputy Associate Assistant Administrator for Management Nomenclature, telephone number, 961-8534.

Those titles currently in use are:

1. Administrator
2. Deputy Administrator
3. Assistant Administrator
4. Deputy Assistant Administrator
5. Associate Deputy Administrator
6. Associate Assistant Administrator
7. Deputy Associate Assistant Administrator *

Those titles available for selection during the next two weeks are:

1. Associate Administrator
2. Deputy Associate Administrator
3. Assistant Associate Administrator
4. Deputy Assistant Associate Administrator
5. Assistant Deputy Associate Administrator
6. Assistant Deputy Administrator
7. Assistant Associate Deputy Administrator
8. Associate Assistant Deputy Administrator
9. Associate Deputy Assistant Administrator

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* Some offices have opted to call their Deputy Associate Assistant Administrators Office Directors. These persons, of course, are free to use the more formal title, Deputy Associate Assistant Administrator.

Although other titles are available, such as Deputy Associate Deputy Administrator good form dictates avoidance of such redundancy. It is hoped that all desirous of titles will be satisfied with those listed above.

A memorandum describing titles available to the Office of General Counsel, Office of Congressional Affairs, Office of Communications and Public Affairs, Office of Private Grievances and Redress, and Office of Intergovernmental and Special Programs will be circulated within the next two weeks. The use of informal titles, such as Executive or Special Assistant, will remain flexible as in the past.

Leonard B. Pouliot
Assistant Administrator
Management and Administration

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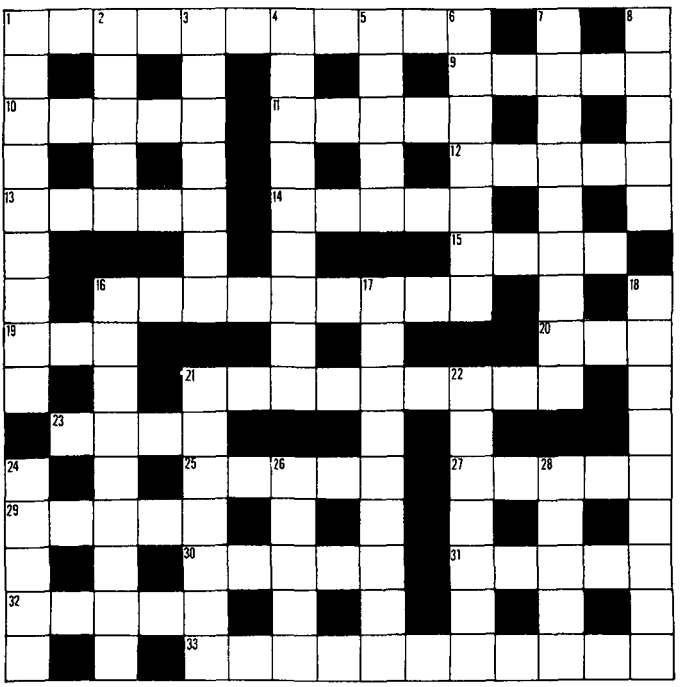
the political puzzle

by John Barclay



Across

1. O you lazy loops making detente above! (6,5)
9. Put promotion in the night before and get away. (5)
10. Set it back before wager in China. (5)
11. Battle dress in leap year morality play. (5)
12. The Roman five also played around in arenas. (5)
13. Kind of space route. (5)
14. Boredom that is nun mixed up. (5)
15. Something required from Eden. (4)
16. Between sect and circle find you growing. (9)
19. Indian comment is another kind of hug. (3)
20. With father around, this remnant would be Turkish officer. (3)
21. Tall wafer makes a scenic attraction. (9)
23. New Zealand bird struggles in Waikiki wind. (4)
25. Splendid box in the center of the orchestra. (5)
27. Different article in conjunction. (5)
29. Look out for a timekeeper. (5)
30. It is awkward to pen it. (5)
31. Bit of land covered by assorted tiles. (5)
32. Plan to see a backward cheer in a little court. (5)
33. Opiate from E. China state. (11)

Down

1. Straightens to turn as a modern occupation. (9)
2. Straightens rib to a modern trip. (5)
3. Tell Ira confused and unvarnished account. (7)
4. Attire with steps in it is a modern uniform. (5,4)
5. Enemy country. (5)
6. Approaching and approaching nothing. (7)
7. Mad rave in waterway is a modern starting point. (9)
8. Fresh slate is the smallest. (5)
16. Holiday hides its charms. (9)
17. Confused air sitter is troubling. (9)
18. Core tithe is not really practical. (9)
21. Indian tribe with CIA arrangement. (7)
22. Nothing blah is around to finish off. (7)
24. "They say an old man is _____ a child." *Hamlet*, Act II. (5)
26. Swelling turns an old Iranian upside down. (5)
28. That man, chance makes a slave. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2,3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 50.

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Expense Account Insights on the South

by Tom Bethell

From time to time the telephone rings here in New Orleans, and the voice is usually British (as I am), sometimes American. The caller is a journalist, or a writer of some kind. "... writing something about the South...," I hear him say, and I can complete the sentence for him. He needs an "angle." New angles on the South are getting hard to find these days, but I try to think of something. The story is usually written and published, and the expenses are paid.

Coverage of the South has fallen into three broad periods, I've decided. Phase I was the period of slavery. Slavery unified the region, and in fact gave rise to the concept of "the South" as meaning something more than a mere geographical corner of the country. Phase II, beginning after Emancipation, lasted for the next hundred years. Journalistically, however, the story was simply a new variation on the same theme. It was the condition of the former slaves—the racial issue. This phase, as is well known, culminated in an approximately 14-year period of unusual news interest, caused by the federal government's decision beginning in 1954 to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment ("nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws").

Tom Bethell is a New Orleans journalist who will be joining the staff of The Washington Monthly *this fall.*

Phase II ended, it now seems clear, with the assassination of Martin Luther King. Within a year or two of his death, Phase III began: the New South. By 1970 the phrase (which itself was not new, having been introduced in the Reconstruction Period) was being bandied about in the magazines. Governors like Dale Bumpers of Arkansas and Jimmy Carter of Georgia were drawn to our attention. But-then-again-on-the-other-hand... there was still James Eastland in Mississippi, George Wallace in Alabama. Was not this "New South" thing merely a matter of cosmetics? A media event? Let me digress with a brief anecdote on this point.

Early in 1971, *Time* decided to do a cover story on Jimmy Carter, the new governor of Georgia. For this they would, of course, need an artist to do the cover portrait. The man they chose was a good friend of mine named Noel Rockmore. Rockmore lost no time in getting on the plane to Atlanta. Portrait sessions followed (Noel spilled India ink on the Governor's carpet, but Carter didn't seem to mind), and then Rockmore flew on to *Time*'s editorial offices in New York.

Potential cover portraits of Carter were handed to aides, who then took them to an inner sanctum where the managing editor, Henry Grunwald,

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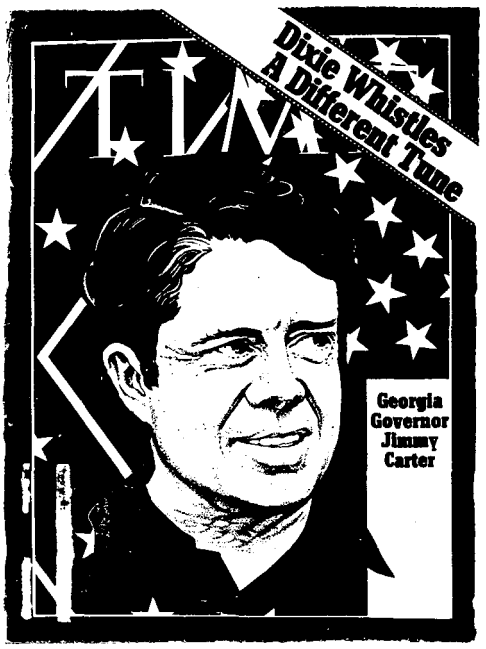

looked them over. The messengers returned—several times. Still not *quite* right, Rockmore would be told, and the tiny hint would be dropped: "There's quite a resemblance to the Kennedys, don't you think. . . ?" In the end Rockmore did a great portrait of Jimmy Carter, but, it appears, not sufficiently Kennedy-like. At that point another artist was brought in to put the message across.

Phase III was well and truly launched. It was a convenient state of affairs for journalists, who found that they could see in the South whatever they wanted to see, tell it the way *they* saw it: Carter (things are getting better), or Wallace (no they're not). A conscientious reader trying to keep up with what was going on in the South might well have been puzzled by the conflicting reports. In fact, this period is still continuing, although the debate as to whether there really is a new South is getting rather stale by now. It needs, as I say, a new angle. Moreover, the debate will be decisively terminated if Wallace runs as a third party candidate next year and yet fails to carry the Deep South states, as seems quite possible. In that event the New South will undoubtedly be a final reality and Mr. Grunwald's artistic judgment will have been, in one sense, vindicated.

Meanwhile, as I say, journalists have been ringing the changes. I confess I've played my part in this, having written two stories for a London newspaper about two Southern towns, one called Tallulah, in Louisiana, the other Social Circle, in Georgia. The Tallulah story was about resistance to school integration and the setting up of private schools, ("Little has changed"). The Social Circle story was about a peculiar incident in which a young black man had been spotted slipping in through the side door of a white divorcee's house, nightly, and was later shot in the back by an unknown assailant. This seems to have provoked a new militancy among blacks and a rash of arson ensued. In the South, I wrote, "Negro rights have become black demands," aware as I did so of the danger inherent in the generalization from an incident in one town.

Some time after that a correspondent from the same London paper came to New Orleans and wrote a third story, which ingeniously avoided contradicting anything I had written. The correspondent had some complicated economic angle which I did not fully understand, but I wasn't arguing with him. He told me that before arriving he had spent a pleasant day in Atlanta, where a bank president had arranged for him to be flown around the city in a helicopter. He had also visited the British consul there, who had told him that the secret to the post-World War II rejuvenation of the South was air conditioning. I made a mental note of this as having very interesting possibilities for still another, and entirely original, story about the South.

Gumbo and Sympathy

Then, not long ago, a man arrived planning yet another story on the South for the same newspaper. I agreed to meet him and his girlfriend

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at a seafood place in downtown New Orleans, having already thought up the angle I thought he should use.

"Look," I said, as we settled comfortably around trays of oysters, bowls of gumbo, and frosted mugs of draught beer. (He, of course, was paying the bill—and sending it back to London.) "It's very simple. There *is* no South anymore. It's gone with the wind, so to speak. Geographically it's still there, of course, but the racial-problem idea which everyone thinks of when you say 'the South' doesn't really exist any more. Hence, the South doesn't exist."

This was what might be called the "New New South" variation, sometimes seen in American publications but not yet deployed in London. It might, of course, pose problems should the paper feel the need for a fifth story about the South. How to write about something which, when last heard from, no longer existed? But I knew I had the air conditioning idea up my sleeve. About that, of course, I was saying nothing.

But, as I could see, my man was unhappy about my proposal. So was his girlfriend, whose beer mug faltered in its upward journey towards her lips as I spoke.

"Oh, I must say we haven't found that at all," my man said. I twisted some lemon onto an oyster and awaited his story. "The moment we left Washington and got into Virginia," he said, "we found that we only had to get out of the car and go inside some place, restaurant or store or whatever, and people would immediately bring up the subject of race. We haven't found that anywhere else in America."

Now as he went on talking, I realized that there was something unusual about his experience. He had been in the South for a *full month* already, winding his way through obscure parts of North Carolina and Georgia and so on, even staying in one small town for a week or so. It is much more usual for correspondents to spend two or three days in the area, at best, which brings me to another digression.

I want to bring up de Tocqueville, a very reliable touchstone for journalists writing about almost any aspect of America. I was curious to find out how much time, if any, de Tocqueville spent in New Orleans on his famous journey to America in 1831-32. I was delighted to find that he had been here less than 24 hours. And remember that New Orleans was a much more important Southern (and American) city then, in those pre-Houston, pre-Atlanta days. In the notebooks he kept (far more interesting, I think, than the boiled down generalizations about democracy he arrived at after letting his observations "simmer" for a year or two), he noted the brevity of his visit self-deprecatingly: "We created principles of observation," he wrote, "then we made deductions from our principles. . . .We discussed, classified, unclassified for an hour and noon was smiling upon us when we finally adopted the following plan: we resolved to consecrate two hours to an examination of the city. . . ."

H. L. Mencken is another early case in point. In his famous diatribe about an alleged lack of culture in the South, "The Sahara of the Bozart," he shared trenchant observations such as one that, "there are no committees down there cadging subscriptions for orchestras," and more of the same. I have my doubts as to whether Mencken left Baltimore for even five minutes to write this piece. In fact, I wonder if he had ever been to the South at all when he wrote that between Virginia and Georgia "lies a vast plain of mediocrity, stupidity, lethargy, almost of dead silence,"

'Good Copy, Good Copy'

So my friend in the oyster bar, by now tackling a bowl of gumbo, was undoubtedly doing well by the standards of his eminent forerunners. Between Virginia and Georgia was just where he had been, and not by

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airplane, either; nor by interstate. But then he proceeded to make a concession that may have been truer than he knew.

"Of course," he said, "I imagine that you could find whatever story you wanted to find, if you set out to look for it."

Of course. The South is about half the size of Europe, after all, and it is far more diverse than many people seem to imagine. My English visitor and his girlfriend may well have imagined that they motored down into Virginia with open minds. They may really have been as open-minded as it is possible to be when you enter for the first time a strange region, which you have heard and read so much about. But I ask you to visualize the scene. I am imagining this (like Mencken?) but it may not be so far from the truth.

Scene: A roadside store in Virginia, selling everything from rakes to hams. In front is a gas pump. Three or four farmers are clustered together inside, talking about what is really on their mind, namely the price of corn or the price of tobacco.

My friend, having stopped for gas, comes in for cigarettes. He spots the farmers. Being a good reporter, he thinks to get a quote or two for his story. He speaks with this strange foreign accent, so that the farmers don't really understand what it is he's saying exactly; but they understand all too clearly that he's one of those news media people and that he's asking them something about "the South," which is an abstraction they normally don't think about very much.

One thing they know for sure is that he's not here to ask them about the corn crop or the tobacco crop. So they puzzle on it for a minute or two, and then perhaps old Jack will say, "I don't know. What do you think, Bill? I don't think they're *ready* for it, myself. . . ." Pretty soon they're talking about busing, and my man smiles and thinks to himself, "Good copy, good copy." He leaves, and they resume their discussion of the corn crop.

Variations on a Theme

Journalists can come to the South and find whatever they're looking for, of that there is no doubt. Consider a few recent variations on the theme. Jon Nordheimer of *The New York Times* found that "The 'New South' Is No Longer a Slogan; It's a Description." ("The fact of the matter is that the South has risen. . . . The bumper stickers of today's South are likely to be more concerned with keeping peace with the environment than fighting dead wars.") But Chandler Davidson, a sociology teacher at Rice, found only "New Politics in the Old South" for the *Nation* some months later. ("Poverty, racism, an uncertain economic future, the shriveling of our civic culture," he says, "are magnified in the South.")

Sheldon Hackney, recently appointed president of Tulane University, writing in the *American Scholar*, discovered a "counterculture" in the South. Peter Schrag, writing for *Saturday Review*, found a "Last Frontier." ("By God, maybe the South will save us all. Maybe the South contains the real American future.") John Fischer, writing from the "Easy Chair" at *Harper's*, is optimistic, too, particularly about the South Carolina Appalachian Council of Governments and the Atlanta Regional Commission, which reminded him of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council in Minnesota.

Less hopeful, though, has been *Southern Voices*, a publication put out by the Southern Regional Council, an organization largely dedicated to the proposition that the South and unfairness are practically synonyms. *Southern Voices* lasted for only four issues, but in that time it managed to give the impression that the South is inhabited mainly by scoundrels, with just a few sensitive souls, most of whom wrote for *Southern Voices*.

But then again, Austin Scott wrote

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in *The Washington Post* that "a lot of blacks are saying the South is America's New Frontier, the Land of Opportunity."

Expense-Account Insights

No doubt most of the conflicting impressions recorded herein are true as far as they go (although I lean towards the Nordheimer and Scott interpretations myself), all of which goes to show the danger inherent in using as generalized a conception as "the South" as the subject of a sentence. It needs something equivalently widespread, like slavery, to give it meaning.

That's one problem. There is another that I already have hinted at. It is my impression that a good deal of the sort of coverage I have described is done mainly to justify expense-paid traveling. At least one person who has come to New Orleans writing about the South has confided to me that the main object of the exercise, after all, was to get out from behind that desk in Washington for a week or so, travel about, and file a story or two to justify the bill.

Newspapers are tolerant of this procedure when times are flush, and in a way it's justifiable. A person in the news business *does* need to get away from the desk from time to time. The journalist should be wary, of course, of imagining that he or she is going to discover anything as grandiose as "the mood of the country," or even of "the South," if that is the direction he heads in. But he will no doubt be refreshed by the travel. And if a few Tocquevillian fantasies are indulged in as the reporter peers out at the natives over the tops of the hedgerows—or, more likely, through the clouds—it probably won't do any harm.

The only people who are likely to be misled are the readers. I already shudder at the prospect of encountering hundreds of acres of coverage of next year's presidential candidates, their peregrinations, and repetitive speeches reported in copious detail. A good deal of this will be "obligatory," i.e. assigned by editors who are motivated largely by fear—that if they don't get the story (if there is one) then the competition might. But some of it will be voluntary—carried out by reporters who are, in effect, on vacation. Such stories often tend to mislead readers into thinking that things are a good deal more important than they really are.

The Angle Threatened and Saved

Thoughts such as these flickered across my mind when I read Jules Witcover's description of the National Governors Conference in New Orleans early in June. Witcover's piece, published in *Rolling Stone*, took great umbrage at such easy targets as "the oil interests" who were picking up the tab for this or that entertainment. But the author's blurb made my heart sink: "Jules Witcover, a 'Washington Post' political writer, is currently working on a book about the 1976 political campaign." Already? (This was in June, 1975.) And who is picking up *his* tab, I wondered.

Meanwhile I was thinking about my upcoming air conditioning piece, when I came across a rather shocking column in the New Orleans *States-Item* by architectural columnist Jack Davis, recommending that air conditioning be outlawed in Louisiana. "The dollars we spend on air conditioners go to out-of-state industries anyway," the writer noted, "and the ban would promote the resurgence of local industries for making ceiling fans, kitchen exhaust fans, screens and 10-foot windows."

Quite a shock! Then I heaved a sigh of relief when I saw that I had my lead: "Despite a recent proposal that air conditioners be outlawed in New Orleans," I would begin, "it may fairly be argued that in the South recently. . . ." Next item on my agenda: a trip to Houston. To talk to the air conditioning experts, of course. ■

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The Best of APSA

AN INSIDER'S GUIDE FOR THE 1975 AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION MEETINGS IN SAN FRANCISCO

We asked Graham Allison of Harvard, Ross Baker of Rutgers, and James David Barber of Duke to recommend the APSA panels they thought would be the most interesting and rewarding. Here are the panels two or more of them voted for:

Tuesday, September 2, 2:00 p.m.

The Grant-in-Aid System: Federal Aid/Federal Domination?

Presiding: Dale Rogers Marshall, Univ. of California, Davis. **Papers:** "Federal Grants and the Pluralistic Universe of American States"–Robert L. Savage, Univ. of Arkansas; "Manpower Revenue Sharing: Rhetoric, Roles, and Results"–Lawrence Neil Bailis, Tufts Univ.; "Community Development Legislation and the Changing Face of American Federalism"–Milton D. Morris, Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C.; "Dimensions of Women's Employment in City Governments: The Influence of Attitudes, Interest Groups, and Intergovernmental Pressures on Personnel Policy"–Grace Hall, Alan Saltzstein, Univ. of Houston. **Discussant:** Jeffrey L. Pressman, MIT.

The President and His Publics

Presiding: Dorothy B. James, Virginia Polytechnic Institue and State Univ. **Papers:** "A Structural Analysis of Presidential Advisory Relationships"–Joseph B. Atkinson, Yale; "Presidential Influence in the Senate: Presidential Prestige as a Source of Presidential Power"–George C. Edwards, III, Tulane Univ.; "The Media and the Presidency: An Exchange Analysis"–Michael B. Grossman, Towson State College; "Public Support for American Presidents: Does Anything But Time Matter?"–James A. Stimson, Caroline LeGette, SUNY, Buffalo; "Presidential Decision Making: The Politics of the Enrolled Bill Process"–Stephen J. Wayne, George Washington Univ., James F. C. Hude, Office of Management and Budget.

Wednesday, September 3, 9:30 a.m.

Significant Non-Obvious International Political Participants:
Corporate and "Domestic" Government Bureaucracies in Foreign Policy Theory and Practice

Presiding: Bernard Mennis, Temple Univ. **Papers:** "Interest and Ideology: American Business and Foreign Policy"–Bruce M. Russett, Betty C. Hanson, Yale Univ.; "Global Interdependence and the U.S. 'Domestic' Bureaucratic Response"–Raymond F. Hopkins, Swarthmore; "Transnational Organization: Multinational Corporations and the Nation-State"–William C. Martin, Georgia State Univ., Karen Hopkins, SUNY, Brockport. **Discussants:** Robert O. Keohane, Stanford Univ.; Theodore H. Moran, Brookings Institution.

Congressional Careers

Presiding: Jeff Fishel, Indiana Univ. **Papers:** "Congressmen in Their Constituencies: An Exploration"–Richard F. Fenno, Jr., Univ. of Rochester; "Treadmill to Oblivion: The Fate of Appointed Senators"–Rogert H. Marz, Oakland Univ.; "The Senate as a Presidential Incubator: Many Are Called But Few Are Chosen"–Robert L. Peabody, Johns Hopkins Univ.; Norman J. Ornstein, Catholic Univ., David W. Rohde, Michigan State Univ. **Discussants:** Donald R. Matthews, Univ. of Michigan; Edward Schneier, CUNY.

Of Criminals Going Free and Constable-Blundering: Facts, Trends, and Resolutions

Presiding: Jacob W. Landynski, New School for Social Research. **Papers:** "Some

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Psychological Dimensions of Police Compliance with the Constitution: The Case of the Fourth Amendment's Exclusionary Rule"—Lief H. Carter, Univ. of Georgia; "The Problem of *Habeas Corpus*"—Wallace Mendelson, Univ. of Texas; "Judicial Values, Police Imperatives, and the Fifth Amdendment"—Otis L. Stephens, Jr., Univ. of Tennessee. **Discussants:** Harriet F. Berger, Drexel Univ.; Dennis D. Dorin, Univ. of North Carolina, Charlotte; John Kaplan, Stanford Univ.; Walter G. Markham, Univ. of Hartford; Frank Way, Univ. of California, Riverside.

On Voting Behavior: Where to from Here?

Presiding: Warren E. Miller, Univ. of Michigan. **Papers:** "Split Ticket Voting and Motivational Conflict"—Robert B. Arsenau, Univ. of California, Berkeley; "The Split Party Identifier in Canada: A Study in Reference Group Theory"—Harold Clarke, Lawrence LeDuc, Univ. of Windsor, and Jane Jenson, Jon Pammett, Carleton Univ.; "Empirical Rationality in Voting Behavior"—Peter C. Ordeshook, Carnegie-Mellon Univ., Melvin J. Hinich, Virginia Polytechnic Institue and State Univ; "Political Stability in Transition: Post-War Germany"—Kendall L. Baker, Univ. of Wyoming, Russell Dalton, Kai U. Hildebrandt, Univ. of Michigan; "The Sport of Kings: Turnout in Presidential Preference Primaries"—William D. Morris, Univ. of Minnesota, Otto A. Davis, Stanford Univ.;

Wednesday, September 3, 2:00 p.m.

Congressional Responses to Executive Authority

Presiding: John Manley, Stanford, Univ. **Papers:** "Congress and the Nixon Vetoes: A Test of Burns' Four Party Thesis"—Frank Feigert, Robert Getz, SUNY, Brockport; "Setting Priorities Through the Budget Execution Process"—Louis Fisher, Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C.; "Senate Confirmation and Controversial Presidential Nominations: From Truman to Nixon"—Donald G. Tannenbaum, Gettysburg College; "Congressional Budget Reform: Initiative and Reaction"—James P. Pfiffner, Brookings Institution; "Congressional Response to Declining Presidential Influence: Foreign Policy Roll Call Voting in the 93rd Congress"—Charles M. Tidmarch, Union College. **Discussant:** David Ray, St. Francis College.

Thursday, September 4, 9:30 a.m.

Representative Bureaucracy and Administrative Accountability

Presiding: Francis Rourke, Johns Hopkins Univ. **Papers:** "Administrators' Beliefs About the Role of the Public: The Case of American Federal Executives"—Joel D. Aberbach, Univ. of Michigan, Bert A. Rockman, Univ. of Pittsburgh; "Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences: A Study in the Attitudes of Federal Executives"—Lloyd G. Nigro, Kenneth Meier, Syracuse Univ.; "Private Bureaucracies and Political Accountability: The Role of Corporations in the United States"—Mark Nadel, Cornell Univ.; "Representative Bureaucracy: Variations in Specialization and Hierarchy in Sixty Federal Agencies"—Judith Hartmann, Portland State Univ. **Discussants:** Andrew Kneier, Common Cause; Harry Bailey, Temple Univ.; Robert S. Friedman, Pennsylvania State Univ.

Friday, September 5, 2:00 p.m.

Arms Control and the Consequences of War

Presiding: Paul Y. Hammond, Rand Corp. **Papers:** "The Interaction of Technical Bureaucratic and Other Obstacles to Senate Arms Control Efforts"—Jonathan E. Medalia, MIT; "The Costs of Major Wars: Winners and Losers"—A.F.K. Organski, Univ. of Michigan, Jacek Kugler, Boston Univ.; "The Future of Conventional Arms Control"—James Foster, Rand Corp. **Discussants:** Barry Blechman, Brookings Institution; James Nathan, Univ. of Delaware; Michael Nacht, Harvard Univ.

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political book notes

Public affairs books to be published in September.

Aiming for the Jugular in New Orleans. William Hardy Davis. Ashley.

All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work. Barbara Garson. Doubleday, $7.95.

An American Crime Story. John Pekkanen. Dial, $8.95.

Better Giving: The New Needs of American Philanthropy. George G. Kirstein. Houghton Mifflin, $7.95. This book is a welcome change from the recent journalistic overemphasis on charity frauds and deceptive fund-raising practices. Kirstein recognizes that the basic problems of American philanthropy are much deeper than this. Yet the book suffers from a superficial tone, a lack of original research, and the common tendency to generalize nationally from developments which are unique to the New York metropolitan area. Kirstein does stumble on some truths. For example, he notes, "Today, all the nation's voluntary agencies put together receive about half their incomes from the government; some agencies receive up to 100 per cent." This is a radical change from the days when government was government and charity was charity and never the twain shall meet. But Kirstein neither develops this idea nor provides a source for this sweeping assertion.

The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile. Armando Uribe. Beacon, $9.95/$3.95.

The Bureaucratic State. H. R. Shapiro. Samizdat Press, $4.95.

Can America Win the Next War? Drew Middleton. Scribner's, $8.95. No, concludes *The New York Times*' military correspondent. His conclusion is based on a phantasmagoria of statistics about relative troop, weapon, and materiel strengths, and Middleton's own assessment of social attitudes in both countries. It is also based on an assumption that this next war will involve nothing more deadly than tactical nuclear weapons, an assumption he does little to back up. Nuclear holocaust would short-circuit Middleton's elaborate conjecture on a rather early page.

But the question Middleton asks urgently requires examination by first-rate minds. For the past ten years, the subject of military preparedness has been so unfashionable among the intellectuals that it has been left almost entirely to people like Middleton. It may be easy to guess that we don't need those aircraft carriers. But what *do* we need?

Canada and the American Presence. John Sloan Dickey. New York University, $12. "Greater understanding. . . sensitivity. . . wise statesmanship and skillful diplomacy," are Dickey's policy recommendations.

The China Hands: America's Foreign Service Officers and What Befell Them. E. J. Kahn, Jr. Viking, $12.50.

Corporate Power in an African State: The Political Impact of Multinational Mining Companies in Zambia. Richard L. Sklar. University of California, $12.

The Disposal of Liberty and Other Industrial Wastes. Edgar Z. Friedenberg. Doubleday, $7.95. Friedenberg's Big Theory is that the inability of modern societies, however prosperous, to help the underprivileged may be attributed to a bitterness and lack of generosity bred into the members of such societies, which he calls, after Nietzsche, "*ressentiment*."

The Dying of the Light. Arnold A. Rogow. Putnam's.

Execution Eve: And Other Contemporary Ballads. William F. Buckley, Jr. Putnam's, $9.95. "His first omnibus volume in three years," says the publicity for this book, whose author does not choose his latinisms lightly. If this book doesn't include literally *everything* Buckley has committed to paper

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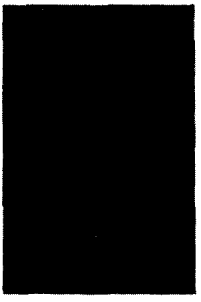

Correcting Taxes for Inflation
by William Fellner, Kenneth W. Clarkson and John Moore

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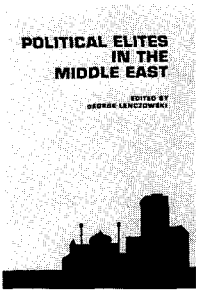

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since 1972, it includes samples from a wide variety of sources: his columns, his magazine, speeches, letters to friends, even letters from friends. The question is not whether they're worth preserving between covers for history—they are—but whether they're all worth re-reading in the here and now. The answer is maybe, but not for ten bucks.

The Family: Vital Force or Outworn Institution? John and Sharon Farago, eds. Pocket, $1.50. Part of the "Problems of American Society" series. This book is not part of the solution.

The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker. Phillip Knightley. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, $12.95. The topic is a beauty. The early chapters fulfill the promise of a swashbuckling tale, and the pedagogical burden (truth, of course, is the first casualty) is not permitted to interfere. His studies of censorship during World War II and Korea, and the press' unreflecting acquiescence in it, are piquant to the reader of 1975. The two concluding chapters on Vietnam, unfortunately, devolve into a trite anti-American harangue. Knightley virtually abandons his main subject matter in the excitement, although he is good on how the war correspondents suddenly remembered after My Lai having witnessed earlier atrocities they hadn't regarded as newsworthy at the time.

Why the federal agencies blatantly ignore the Civil Service Commission in their hiring and firing

The failure of the CSC to make proper use of its authority over government personnel practices is spelled out in this highly critical report which Ralph Nader in his Introduction calls "the first comprehensive analysis of the Civil Service Commission in many years." More than just an attack, the book presents 53 detailed remedies on such issues as discipline, appeals, and equal employment. The book includes the Nader group's report on the Equal Employment Opportunity program: "Behind the Promises" by M. Weldon Bewer, Jr.

THE SPOILED SYSTEM

A Call for Civil Service Reform

by ROBERT G. VAUGHN

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A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Equality. Ellen Peck. Prentice-Hall, $7.95.

The Gentlemen's Club: International Control of Drugs and Alcohol. Kettil Bruun, et al. University of Chicago, $12.50.

Growing Up in America. Fred and Grace Hechinger. McGraw-Hill, $15.

In Prison. James E. Trupin. Mentor, $2.50.

Labor: America's Two-Faced Movement. Herrick S. Roth. Mason/Charter, $10. Roth states in the preface that the international union bureaucracy is out of touch with the workers on the local union level (the two "faces" of his title) and that what is needed is more democracy in the union hierarchy. He then repeats this uninspiring thesis for the rest of the book, as if democracy alone could solve all the problems of modern unionism.

Mid-Century World. Roger Morgan, ed. Newsweek Books, $10. This twelfth volume of Newsweek's "Milestones of History" series summarizes the world from 1950 to the present. A coffee-table book in format, it is meatier than many of this genre.

Money: Whence It Came, Where It Went. John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin, $10. In this delightful survey of the history of money, Galbraith abandons his unsatisfying attempts at grand synthesis and settles into his natural role as popularizer and debunker extraordinaire. For a painless understanding of economic mystifications such as inflation and the Federal Reserve System, this book is highly recommended.

The Morality of Consent. Alexander M. Bickel. Yale, $10. Bickel's last work, completed the week before he died, is very much posthumous in tone. The chapter on the First Amendment, especially, exposes and exemplifies Bickel's "balancing" approach to constitutional law. "There are no absolutes that a complex society can live with in its law," this chapter concludes. "There is only the computing principle that Burke spoke of—adding, subtracting, multiplying, dividing. . . . Better to recognize from the first that the computing principle is all there is, ought to be, or can be." Bickel indicates his awareness that the Pentagon Papers case, in which he helped defend *The New York Times*, actually narrowed freedom of the press. He says this is inevitable whenever a freedom formerly unchallenged must be defended in explicit terms. However, it is only inevitable if you believe that any explicitly legal defense inevitably leads you into the world of relativism and the balancing of competing values. Since these were the terms in which he defended the *Times*, the limiting effect of

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the Supreme Court's decision was indeed inevitable.

My Father: A Remembrance. Hugo Black, Jr. Random House, $8.95. "In short, what I am trying to do is to simply tell the story of a father and son moving toward each other," comments the author in the preface of his book. His attempt is basically successful. Writing in an easy, homespun style, Black relates the main episodes of his father's life (as lawyer, U.S. senator, husband, and father, and Supreme Court justice)—which, we learn, was consumed by a concern for the welfare of the "common man." The author tends to be maudlin at times (especially in telling of his father's dying days). In addition, he presents "Daddy" in such an idolized fashion that we miss much of Hugo Black's bad—and apparently more fascinating—side. Finally, in a few chapters (e.g., "Teenage Days, The Senator's Son"), we are led to believe that Hugo Black, Jr. is practicing for his autobiography. A highly readable account of the Justice's life, it should not be taken as a serious attempt at biography.

The New Reformers: Forces for Change in American Politics. Stephen Schlesinger. Houghton Mifflin, $7.95. Schlesinger's breathless survey of reform groups within the Democratic Party (women, blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, gays, etc.) suffers from an inability to criticize any Democrat to the left of George Meany and an unsophisticated acceptance of interest-group politics as a good thing. Are abortion and unionized grapes really the sorts of issues Democrats ought to be debating right now, or do they distract attention from problems, like the economy, that affect all people as human beings instead of members of a caucus? Don't look to Schlesinger for any second thoughts.

On Growth II. Willem Oltmans. Putnam's, $9.95.

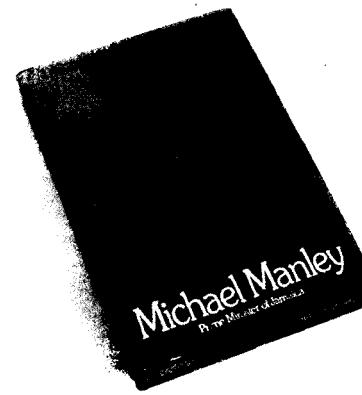
The Pocket Book of America. Philip Van Doren Stern, ed. Pocket Books, $1.95.

Political Money: A Strategy for Campaign Financing in America. David W. Adamany, George E. Agree. Johns Hopkins, $11.95. Probably the best recent book on campaign financing and the various well-intentioned, but often naive, efforts to reform it. Take, for example, the authors' sensible comment on the limits of full disclosure: "To put it directly, would a 1972 voter who favored a hard line in Southeast Asia and on college campuses have cast his ballot for George McGovern because of the way Richard Nixon financed his campaign?" The authors also look with skepticism on the establishment of spending limits for political campaigns (it will protect incumbents), but support restricting the size of individual

A MAJOR STATEMENT ON GROWTH IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

THE POLITICS OF CHANGE

By Michael Manley
Prime Minister of Jamaica



The needs of the new Jamaica, an independent nation, are radically different from those of the old colonial Jamaica, and in this volume Manley offers a philosophy and strategy for change. Using his deep knowledge and understanding of the past to serve as directives for Jamaica's present and future, Manley proposes a viable strategy deserving the attention of not only developing countries, but also world powers. THE POLITICS OF CHANGE is a powerful statement by a man determined to remove Jamaica from the economic, political, psychological, and social strangulation induced by colonialism and slavery.

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contributions. Their real achievement, however, is devising a voucher system for the public financing of political campaigns which would neither punish third parties nor unduly reward established candidates.

Power! How to Get It, How to Use It. Michael Korda. Random House, $8.95. This book is enlivened by some entertaining profiles of executives who have made it to the top. It also contains one significant perception: the power game has become so important in our swollen corporate bureaucracies because there is so little work to do. But Korda's analysis of the rules of the game is conventional and uninspired.

A Presidential Nation. Joseph A. Califano. Norton, $9.95. Another entry in the Imperial Presidency sweepstakes, by yet another former White House aide. Califano's thought for today is that the other major institutions of our country—which he lists as the Congress, the states and cities, the media, and the Supreme Court—should be strengthened as "counterpoints" to growing presidential power.

Presidential Style: Some Giants and a Pygmy in the White House. Samuel and Dorothy Rosenman. Harper and Row, $15. The giants are the Roosevelts, Wilson and Truman. The pygmy is Warren Harding. The subtitle gives some indication of the subtlety of the analysis. But the chapters on Franklin Roosevelt and Truman have the advantage of Rosenman's first-hand knowledge as a presidential adviser during these administrations, and the entire book has the advantage of not being psycho-history, which the title threatened.

The Red Light Bandit. Frank J. Parker. Nelson-Hall, $8.95.

The Sociology of Housework. Ann Oakley. Pantheon, $10/$3.95.

The State of the Presidency. Thomas E. Cronin. Little, Brown, $5.95.

This Hungry World. Ray Vicker. Scribner's, $9.95.

The Tin Kazoo: Television, Politics, and the News. Edwin Diamond. MIT Press, $8.95.

Washington Journal: Events of 1973-1974. Elizabeth Drew. Random House, $12.95. The easiest Watergate book yet, Drew's day-by-day "Today we learned. . . ." journal of Washington during 1973 and 1974 only occasionally seems self-indulgent. More often the technique does indeed effectively recapture the sense of growing wonder of those fast-receding times. Perhaps the best way to classify it would be as the first of the Watergate nostalgia books.

We Are All POW's. Chuck Noell, Gary Wood. Fortress Press, $2.75.

Witness to Power. Marquis Childs. McGraw-Hill, $8.95. The venerable columnist presents observations based on his contacts with wielders of power from FDR to Kissinger. His views on the power of the Fourth Estate are especially interesting. Soon after coming to Washington as a correspondent for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Childs became aware of the "temptation to be a player, not just an observer. . . . We were players without numbers on our jerseys, arrogating to ourselves a power never contemplated by the men who framed the First Amendment to the Constitution.

"It may not be literally true that all power corrupts, but the more it is exercised the more likely it is for the individual to deceive himself into believing that he is infallible. And when it comes to absolute power we have seen in this grisly century all too many examples of what that can mean. . . . At one remove those of us chronicling the lives of the great and near great may be tainted by this same corruption. We have a kind of intimacy based on the premise that we are observers beyond the rules of the game."

LAWS AGAINST MARIJUANA

THE PRICE WE PAY

Arthur D. Hellman

Under this country's present laws, it is legitimate for the police to buy marijuana, hand it to someone, and then arrest him for possessing it! Entrapment, harassment, snooping, surveillance, and illegal entry have become a greater threat to our society than widespread use of the drug, says lawyer Hellman in this reasoned call for decriminalization. Hellman cites case after case to show that our present laws against marijuana regularly lead to gross violations of the constitutional rights of American citizens.

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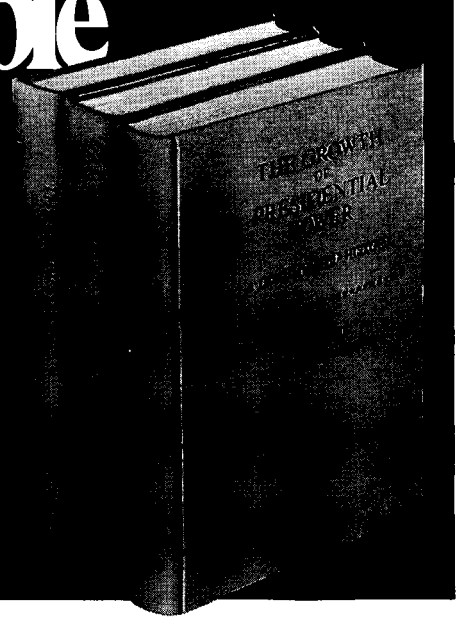

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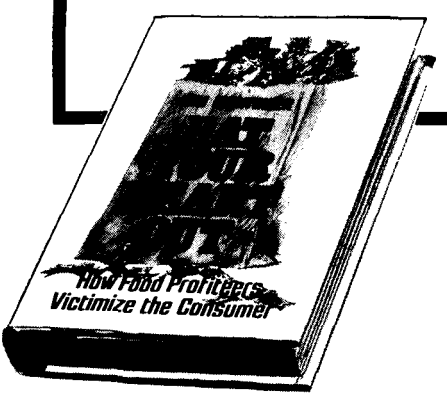

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